MOVEMENT January-June 1972
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS

*(**Y-R**) = Young-Riddell LSA leadership politics later disputed by Dowson group—ed.*
(Voir aussi: Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
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Anti-abortion forces pose threat

by Jacquie Henderson

On Jan. 5 Judge Francis Xavier Smith of the Supreme Court of New York issued an injunction to halt abortions in New York City municipal hospitals.

In response to both New York state and city appeals and strong protest from women throughout the U.S., the injunction has been postponed but still remains pending.

This shocking attack on a right to abortion already won by New York women affects women throughout the world. Last year 4,557 Canadian women, unable to get safe legal abortions in their own country, went to New York for abortions. New York abortion laws are the least restrictive of those in the U.S. and far less restrictive than the Canadian laws.

The injunction directly attacks those women who already suffer most from lack of access to abortion and birth control — working class and poor women — since it is directed against the municipal hospitals rather than against the more expensive private hospitals and clinics. Its effect is designed to drive more of these women towards backstreet abortionists and murderous home remedies.

The U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition has called the injunction, "the first step in a planned attack on the victories women have won in the streets."

The U.S. abortion coalition has called a demonstration for Jan. 13 against the injunction. The Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition has called a solidarity demonstration for the same day. Lorna Grant of the Ontario coalition pointed out that the attack is an important matter for Canadian women: "The events in New York are not just an attack on our sisters in the U.S. but on all women around the world who are campaigning for the right to control their bodies."

The injunction motion was put forward by Robert Byrn, a law professor. Last month Byrn got himself appointed legal "guardian" of all fetuses between the fourth and 24th weeks of gestation scheduled to be aborted in New York municipal hospitals. In the biggest legal farce since the Scopes "monkey trial" of the 1920s which upheld the book of Genesis in the state of Tennessee against the teaching of evolution in the schools, Byrn argued that the New York abortion law is unconstitutional. He said the law, which permits abortion on demand up until the 24th week of pregnancy, violates the right of his "wards" to "life, liberty, and property."

The judge listened sympathetically to Byrn while ignoring defense lawyers' protests that the defendants, the women who want to have abortions, were not present or consulted. He ruled in favor of Byrn saying:

"The law. . .has always displayed a warm and tender regard for human life, the most jealously-protected interest known to the law — an interest so intense that opposing interest of convenience and personal happiness must fall."

This attack against women's right to abortion has been launched as a full scale international campaign. Since women have stepped up their campaign for an end to all laws against abortion so have the anti-abortion forces intensified their defense of reactionary legislation and attempts to defeat newly-won gains of women.

Early in December the Pope issued another statement urging advocates of women's rights not to

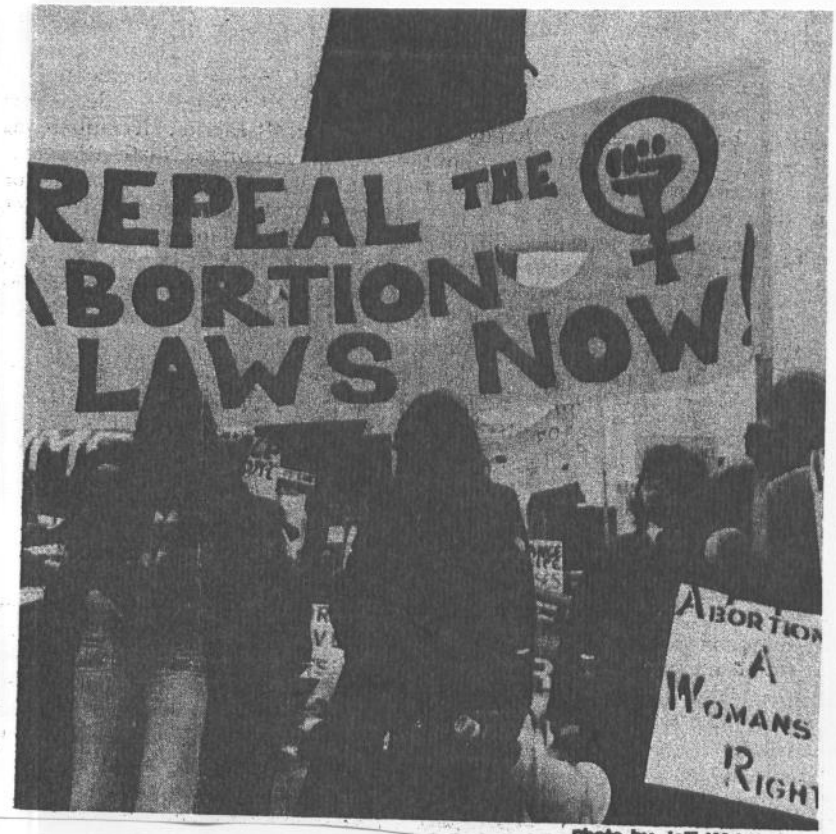

photo by Jeff White

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go beyond the "limits of Roman Catholic teachings." In a special conference in December the Catholic bishops of Manitoba called on the devout to counter the campaign of women for abortion. They declared that "human life, even unborn, should be protected." And they called upon parents and teachers to campaign against "sexual permissiveness" in young people.

The Catholic Women's League has launched a cross country campaign for a hundred thousand anti-abortion letters to be sent to the government.

The church's Right to Life groups are organizing an ambitious campaign in Canada against abortion. In many schools they have posted pictures of tiny bodies in garbage bags, supposedly aborted fetuses thrown in the garbage after one day of abortions in a hospital. These grisly corpses of what appear to be fully developed babies make the case for the opponents of abortion: from the moment of conception a fetus is a full human being entitled to all the rights (and more) that its mother has.

The fact that this argument cannot stand up to scientific investigation does not daunt its proponents. The fetus cannot live without the mother's placenta. But the anti-abortionists are not interested in scientific fact about the fetus. They are simply interested in preventing women from having control over their own bodies.

The most outrageous pretension of these reactionaries is their attempt to pose themselves as the great defenders of human life, and women who want abortions as the "murderers." They show a complete lack of concern for the lives of women; and their hypocritical concern for the lives of "unborn children" is exposed by their lack of concern for the children who are born.

It is the women who bear the children — not the male politicians, judges, lawyers and priests who decree they must have them — who also bear the main responsibility for them once they are born. The lack of child care facilities and the state of orphanages in both the U.S. and Canada testify to this.

To Robert Byrn, a 40-year-old Catholic bachelor, the problem of having to shape your whole life to raising children that you had not planned for, did not want, and cannot fully take care of, is a very theoretical problem. But to him and his associates another problem is very real: women are becoming confident as a result of winning some gains in their struggle to control their lives and are demanding more from society. They are asking for total repeal of all abortion laws. They want 24-hour child care. They want equal pay and equal job opportunities. They are rejecting the narrow confines of the traditional woman's role.

The New York injunction was enacted to counter the growing demands of women for control of their bodies and their lives. In the past few years women have begun to make some gains in their struggle. The New York Law which came into effect 18 months ago was one of those victories. Now those who are determined that a woman's main occupation shall be motherhood — whether she wants it or not — have launched an offensive against this law.

A counter-offensive is being mounted by women in New York. But the struggle is international. As Lorna Grant of the Ontario abortion coalition puts it: "The enemies of women are beginning to attack and we are ready to battle until all women have the right to choose. Women are building a petition campaign across Canada for repeal of the abortion laws. The coalition will continue to petition until it forces the government to action."

From the editors:

Hands off Bangladesh

Sheik Mujibur Rahman — after visits to London and New Delhi — returned home to Dacca and jubilant crowds of half a million countrymen. "I have realized my dream," he said — an independent Bangladesh.

But Bangladesh is not independent. It is occupied by the Indian army and the so-called "stabilization" of Bangladesh is being carried out to suit the pattern desired by the Indian ruling class.

The tens of thousands of armed fighters of the Mukti Bahini are to be disarmed — a precondition of Indian withdrawal. Their political independence, their fighting capacity, must be broken before "stability" can be wrought out of the political flux in the new country.

Whose self-determination is the Indian government talking about? The Indian capitalist class is itself the exploiter of the Bengali nation — its other half locked in the Indian state of West Bengal, one of the oppressed nations within India. At the same time as Indian forces went into East Bengal to "help" them fight against Pakistan, Indian authorities were carrying out a murderous repression throughout West Bengal.

India is not in Bangladesh to protect self-determination, but to deny it. India occupied Bangladesh to curb the mass movement towards a settlement of age-old social problems — such as a landless peasantry, rural debts, hunger; to curb the possibility of the revolutionary national struggle of the Bengali from growing over the borders into West Bengal; and to prevent the threat of socialist revolution in Bengal.

Under Indian occupation, the Awami League is now trying to firm up a bourgeois regime in Bangladesh based solely on the 1970 spring elections in Pakistan and the appointments of a whole structure of administrators from the top down.

The Bengali masses, who fought so courageously for their self-determination, have the sole right to decide now the future of their country.

India must get out now.

Those in solidarity with the Bangladesh struggle should oppose the proposal for international peacekeeping forces who could replace Indian troops and do their dirty work. The "peacekeepers" have already too many Koreas, Congos, Palestines and Santo Domingos behind them.

The NDP and labor movement in Canada should oppose any suggestion — such as External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp's Jan. 2 statement on CTV — that Canada was prepared to participate in such efforts.

Hands Off Bangladesh. India Out Now. For Bengali Self-determination. No Canadian intervention in Bangladesh.

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#47 Jan 1972

FRONT COMMUN pour la DEFENSE de la LANGUE FRANÇAISE
65 — 28
NON A L'ANGLICISATION
MESURES DE GUERRE
FRONT COMMUN pour la DEFENSE de la LANGUE FRANÇAISE

photo by Jeff White

MASS DEMONSTRATION FOR A FRENCH QUEBEC. Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise led Oct. 16 action against Bills 28 and 63.

Defeat of Que. language bill boosts bid to repeal Bill 63

by Andre Charbonneau
and Marilyn Raphael

MONTREAL — Bill 28, the draft law to restructure the school system on Montreal Island, finally died on the order paper with the close of the 1971 session of the Quebec National Assembly.

The government's decision to withdraw the Bill is an important victory for the Quebec people and in particular for the entire opposition that organized against the bill.

Education Minister Guy St-Pierre argued unconvincingly that Bill 28 had nothing to do with the language question. But Bill 28 was an extension and a reinforcement of Bill 63, designed to implement the principles of the latter on the level of school structures.

Bill 63, rammed through the assembly in 1969 in the face of massive demonstrations against it, gave legal recognition to the English-language school system that has grown up in Quebec under the cover of the "Protestant" separate school system.

It gave parents the right to choose the language of education for their children within the public school system. Recent statistics made public by the Catholic School Commission of Montreal confirm that many more French-speaking parents have opted for English schools under Bill 63, in the hope that their children would be able to obtain better jobs in English-dominated business and industry.

It is widely held that Montreal will become majority English-speaking within 15 to 20 years if the current rate of anglicization continues. Bill 28, by merging Catholic (predominantly French) school boards with Protestant (English), would in effect have turned Montreal into a bilingual territory, in accordance with the Trudeau government's projections for the whole of Quebec.

In a brief to the parliamentary committee on education in November, the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (United Front for the Defense of the French Language) argued: "As long as Bill 63 exists, we will oppose any restructuring in the school system, including Bill 28." Opposition to Bill 28 had been a central feature of the Oct. 16 mass demonstration in Montreal for a French Quebec called by the FCDLF.

It seems clear that the proposal of the Parti Quebecois in the National Assembly to amend Bill 28 so as to suppress the effects of Bill 63, would not only have won the support of all the opposition parties, but also would have divided the ruling Liberal party. Premier Bourassa could not run the risk of a defeat for Bill 63, which is so important for Anglo-Canadian and American investors.

The struggle against Bill 63 has only begun. Nearly 225 organizations and groups of all kinds have given their support to the Regroupement Contre le Bill 63 (Coalition against Bill 63), formed by the PQ, all the trade union federations, the teachers' organizations and the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, demanding the recall of the infamous Bill 63. Equally prominent on the list are editorial writers for most Quebec daily newspapers.

The Regroupement has mainly limited itself to educational assemblies. Important meetings were held in Montreal (1500 people), at Trois Rivieres (200), at Hull (200), at Chicoutimi and at Quebec (1,000).

According to a spokesman of the FCDLF, the first movement to again take up the question of Bill 63, "the massive support that the Regroupement has mobilized against Bill 63 is very positive and significant and indicates clearly the profound opposition to Bill 63. But the main weakness of the Regroupement is that in limiting itself to assemblies and to the action of the PQ deputies, the masses of Quebec people cannot participate."

The FCDLF thinks that in order to succeed, the struggle for the repeal of Bill 63 must also take place outside the National Assembly, in the streets, so as to permit the Quebec people to participate in the defense of their language. All decisions concerning the campaign against Bill 63 must be made "in broad, open and democratic assemblies," the FCDLF leaders argue.

"It is in this perspective that we invite the forces of the Regroupement and all Quebecois who want to preserve their language, to participate in the conference of the FCDLF on Jan. 30, which will decide on a massive demonstration, capable of registering the public's sentiment on the government. Such an action is crucial for a victory against Bill 63."

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Vallieres' decision

From terrorism to mass action

by Alain Beiner

In a letter to the editor of the Montreal daily **Le Devoir** in mid-December, Pierre Vallieres, author of the book **White Niggers of America** and leading theoretician of "armed struggle" in Quebec, announced that he was breaking once and for all with the Front de liberation du Quebec (FLQ) and withdrawing all support from it.

This action and the documents written by Vallieres to justify it, confirm in a dramatic and powerful way the failure of the terrorist strategy, a conclusion advanced by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere since the explosion of the first terrorist bomb. After a deep-going reconsideration of the political situation since October 1970, in the light of the lessons of the war measures crisis, Vallieres admits the sterility of the FLQ's strategy, its isolation from the real political life of the masses as well as its profoundly unfortunate results.

Under the impact of the new rise of struggles since the calm of the first months of 1971, and the power of the mass movement for independence and the parallel radicalization of the trade union movement, Vallieres has come to understand the necessity for revolutionaries to participate actively in this mass struggle, in real political life, in order to influence it.

Analyzing the present political conjuncture, Vallieres defines the task of revolutionaries today: educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses, rather than learning to handle arms and plant bombs. To be sure, Vallieres is mistaken when he concludes that it is necessary to join the Parti Quebecois, which he considers to be the vehicle of our liberation. The bourgeois PQ is a deformed expression of the mass movement and an obstacle to the development and mobilization of this same mass movement.

In the articles sent to Montreal newspapers, Vallieres discusses at great length the nationalist character of the mass movement in Quebec, the national consciousness of the masses and its revolutionary dynamic. Testifying to the power of the national question and its central role in Quebec political life, Vallieres has been obliged to orient to the mass nationalist movement and to draw some key conclusions from it that a number of "leftists" in Quebec ignore. For instance, the dual character of the Quebec revolution — nationalist and socialist; the importance of national emancipation to the working class; the impossibility of jumping over or denying the national stage or component of the Quebec revolution; and thus the necessity of including national tasks in the revolutionary program and of incorporating the national struggle into the socialist strategy.

Speaking of the failure of the FLQ's terrorist strategy, Vallieres stated, "If the 'FLQ threat' has for a year been the theme of the public declarations of the authorities, it is because the October crisis showed them how the regime could profit from spectacular explosions which are isolated from any revolutionary strategy. Such actions can be represented plausibly as being an integral part of a long term offensive consistent with a strategy of genuine revolutionary armed struggle when in reality they are nothing of the sort.

"Every action of the FLQ, however minimal and limited, every press release bearing the FLQ insignia, however hare-brained, every 'message' from the FLQ, fictitious or real, takes on in these circumstances a political importance which benefits only those who use the permanent 'FLQ menace' to increase the motivations and the opportunities to club the liberation movement of the Quebec masses, while waiting for the 'big' chance that will allow them to do everything in their power to break the back of the movement once and for all.

"If up to October 1970 the armed agitation of the FLQ was the radical expression of the spontaneist and anarchistic character that all national liberation movements have at their inception, it has become today in fact the unconscious but objective ally of the repressive strategy of the regime and thereby, far from constituting a tactical support of the Quebec people's struggle, it runs the risk of contributing to the crushing of this struggle and to the liquidation of its living forces.

"If ever armed struggle could have been justified in the past as revealing a condition of domination and a resolute will to escape from it, armed agitation, just like the unarmed agitation of those who confuse window-breaking with conscious, positive and mass-oriented political action, is today counter-revolutionary."

To those who wonder whether the rejection of "armed agitation" implies necessarily the disappearance of the FLQ itself or whether it would be necessary instead to maintain it as an organization, waiting for a change of the situation that would allow it to play a role in the struggle, Vallieres replies:

"It must be said right away that such a 'waiting' group could never find the tactics adequate to the changing situation in question, since, being cut off from the mass struggle itself, it would voluntarily put itself in a position where it was totally impossible to understand the mechanisms, the transformations, the real level of political consciousness, its composition, etc.; in summary, it would put itself in a situation where it was practically impossible to concretely understand the real evolution of the mass struggle and thus practically impossible to really participate in it, at whatever stage it may be in the long

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...Vallieres falters on PQ

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and complex process of national and social liberation that the Quebec masses have just begun to launch in a coherent and politically organized manner."

Apart from his evaluation of the Parti Quebecois, Vallieres' second article, published in the trade union weekly Quebec-Presse, is full of lessons for those among the left who tend to underestimate the national character of the Quebec revolution.

"Some leftists would really like to skip the national stage. They forget that in a colonized society national independence is not one question among others for the workers, but the most important question. In fact, the political emancipation of the Quebecois collectivity is the first condition for the social emancipation of the workers and the building of socialism (the latter being, in the present period, the only guarantee of independence and development of a 'just society').

"By counterposing class struggle and national struggle one denies the special characteristics and the relative autonomy of each and at the same time their close interaction. One forgets, moreover, that in a situation like ours, in a colonized society which has always been refused the right to constitute an independent national State, national liberation is a priority demand not only for what is called the petty bourgeoisie but also for the masses who compose the majority of that society.

"The struggle for independence, far from diverting the masses from the conquest of political power and the collective construction of socialism, on the contrary brings them considerably closer to these goals; while on the other hand opposition to the political independence of Quebec could only compromise irremediably their own emancipation.

"Of course, the political independence of Quebec does not in itself constitute a total revolution any more than does the overthrow of a despotic power by armed struggle. Political independence, like the overthrow of a dictatorship, only creates the political and social conditions of a leap forward, a collective liberation which will still have several other stages to go through. . .

"National liberation movements, despite their frequently 'petty-bourgeois' appearance, all contain an enormous revolutionary potential and all proceed from a complex and contradictory dialectical process."

Vallieres takes on those who glorify workers' struggles around purely economic demands, in the hopes that workers will limit themselves to those demands, and who ignore the importance of politicizing workers' struggles around demands arising from the national question:

"A certain left unknowingly practices an economism which (like the trade-unionism denounced by Lenin) reduces the political struggle to a series of economic and social demands without strategic political significance. While the question of independence has in Quebec a fundamental strategic political significance, this left gives the impression that it considers the right to self-determination only as an abstract juridical right. And it equates calling for self-determination with support to 'bourgeois' nationalism.

"Another left, for its part, is so caught up in the universality of THE stereotyped class struggle and the pure proletarian revolution that it begrudges any "compromise" with the dialectical and particular complexity of any concrete process of liberation. It prefers the quiet possession of universal truths to the transformation of a society whose history is not waiting to be written by a Marx or an Althusser before working itself out."

From these altogether correct assertions — the importance of national emancipation and the impossibility of "leaping over" it — Vallieres strays from the Quebec reality when he concludes "that one must envisage the driving role, the dynamic role, that the Parti Quebecois plays and will play increasingly within the movement for national and social emancipation of the Quebecois"; when he concludes that the PQ is the vehicle or at least the "first stage" of the liberation struggle.

First, by counterposing "the electoral process" to armed struggle at the present time, Vallieres restricts himself to a very mechanical analysis of the mass movement, seeing only that "the mass struggle is taking on an electoral form." In this sense Vallieres refuses to see the most significant political expression of this mass movement, namely, the coherent, conscious, organized, mass actions that have taken place outside the electoral process, but which have profoundly influenced

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this process. Vallieres seems to want to deny the revolutionary dynamic of demonstrations, strikes, occupations, etc. — in short, all the mass actions in the streets that Quebec has experienced and which the Parti Quebecois has opposed, including the demonstration for the national language on Oct. 16 and the demonstration against La Presse of Oct. 29, both of them factors in the new radicalization of the workers' movement.

That the mass movement must utilize the electoral process is indisputable, but to say that it ought to limit itself to this process or support a political party that does so and that actively opposes mass actions is a completely different question.

That the mass movement must utilize the electoral process as well, and that it needs a mass political party, a political instrument capable of taking power, is indisputable, but what ought to be the nature of such a political formation? Vallieres is of the opinion that "it is not in the interests of the majority of the Quebecois for the union locals to launch at present a second mass party distinct from the PQ..."

Such a party would distinguish itself from the PQ not by its own "phraseology," as Vallieres claims but by its class nature — it would be free of all ties of dependence on imperialism and its subsidiary, Quebec capitalism. This independence from capitalist interests is indispensable for any formation that seeks to lead the liberation struggle to its conclusion. The petty bourgeois leadership of the PQ does not possess this independence, being bound by many ties to capitalism for its survival in the face of a powerful working class, which would not stop at a simple replacement of anglophone bosses with francophone bosses. That is why the PQ abstains from, and even opposes, mass actions and mobilizations that threaten to go beyond the capitalist framework.

As Vallieres explains, it is not a question of revolutionaries standing back from the national question, nor of "leaping over" the national tasks, in order to limit workers' action to simple economic questions. It is a question of seeing, as Vallieres does not, that the national tasks in Quebec can only be achieved under the direction of the working class — at the head of the whole nation — and that consequently the resolution of these essential tasks will be the first measure of a socialist government following the seizure of power by the working class in a revolution.

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YS leaders set tasks

Canada's largest revolutionary socialist youth organization, the Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes held a plenary conference of its Executive Council and local organizers in Toronto, Dec. 29 - 30.

Jacquie Henderson

The meeting of leading members of the 18 YS - LJS locals across the country followed on the heels of the massive protests this fall against the Amchitka nuclear blast, the largest actions ever by Canadian students. In the political report, Executive Secretary Jacquie Henderson stressed the importance of this growth of anti-imperialist sentiment and the growing hatred of everything Nixon represents.

"This mass opposition to U.S. imperialism shows the impact the antiwar movement has had," she said. "The U.S. is hated for its role in Vietnam and it is the antiwar movement that has shown how to fight back — through mass action in the streets."

Henderson pointed to the renewed struggles this fall on many campuses and in high schools across Canada. "Is the student movement dead? — Not on your life!" She went on to outline the growing support for the Waffle grouping among students because of its anti-imperialism and because it is part of the NDP, the party of the working class which has the power to change this society.

Katie Curtin of the University of Toronto YS reported on the development of the women's liberation movement and the campaign for legal abortion. "Abortion has become the central struggle for women." she said, "because millions of women realize that this is an issue which affects them. All the forces in society are polarizing around this question." The report took up the necessity of mass action to win repeal of the laws and projected campus referendums and extending the campaign in the high schools to mobilize the student wing of the campaign.

The discussion on the Quebec report, given by Paul Kouri of the Montreal LJS, focused on the importance of the national oppression of the Quebecois, which shapes all of the other struggles in Quebec. "The struggle for a French Quebec was not created by revolutionaries," said Hull student leader Marc Dupont, in the discussion, "and it cannot be left in the hands of the bourgeois Parti Quebecois which will attempt to derail it into safe, parliamentary channels. A French Quebec will be won in the streets by students and workers."

The meeting took place on the eve of the heaviest bombings of Vietnam since 1968. The bombings bore out the theme of the antiwar report that "de-escalation" of the war is a myth and that defense of the Vietnamese revolution remains a central task of the movement. Reporter Al Cappe, Toronto organizer of the YS, outlined the potential shown in the Amchitka actions to mobilize masses of Canadian students around such issues as campus war research, recruitment and Canada's ties with the U.S. war machine. The plenum voted full support for the Feb. 5 - 6 regional antiwar conferences and the April 22 demonstrations called by the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition.

Al Cappé

The meeting concluded with an organizational report by Southern Ontario Regional Organizer, Don Tapscott, who outlined the progress made in building the YS - LJS in the fall. The YS participated in the record drive for 4,000 new subscriptions to Young Socialist, Labor Challenge and Liberation and undertook the largest fund drive ever, for $7,900.

One of the most important developments in the fall was the growth of a young, new leadership in locals across the country.

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Largest rally ever of U.S. socialist youth

Meeting in Houston, Texas, from Dec. 28 to Jan. 1, the 11th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance registered the growing influence of Trotskyism among youth of the United States. The attendance of 1,240 made it the largest ever held and the first in the South.

The convention discussed how to build and lead the mass movements of youth in America: "The key to our approach," the antiwar resolution stated, "is mass action independent of the ruling class . . . we rely on the power of the masses of American people mobilized around democratic and transitional demands to change things."

The convention voted to endorse and build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and California as called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

The women's liberation report called for building the campaign for repeal of anti-abortion laws as the central struggle for American feminists.

The YSA will also support the campaigns of the independent Chicano party, La Raza Unida party and will propagandize for a similar party to build the Black nationalist movement.

An important par of the discussion was centered on international solidarity with revolutionary movements around the world. The convention decided to join the campaign to defend victims of repression in Latin America.

The YSA's intervention in the 1972 presidential elections entered all the discussions at the convention. The YSA is preparing to fight for the independence of the mass movements, as reformist forces try to draw them into the Democratic and Republican party machines.

The convention voted to endorse and work for the campaign of Socialist Workers Party candidates Linda Jenness for President and Andrew Pulley for Vice-President. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley was established to draw hundreds of young people into the socialist campaign.

A campaign rally held during the convention and addressed by Jenness, Pulley and Debbie Leonard, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, raised more than $16,000 for the SWP campaign.

The delegates to the convention elected a new, youthful national committee, which named Andy Rose, 21, national chairman, Mirta Vidal, 23, national secretary and Laura Miller, 20 national organizational secretary.

Saskatoon socialists in effective campaign

SASKATOON — Business interests remain firmly in control of City Hall here following the Jan. 5 civic election. But the socialist candidates waged an effective campaign which took the socialist message to thousands of voters.

Their vote totals varied considerably. Howard Brown, mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action received 342 votes, just over 1 percent of the total. Aldermanic candidate Monica Jones, a leading member of the Young Socialists, had 757 votes, nearly 4 percent. Ron Torgerson, Young Socialist candidate for school board, ran up an impressive 2,363 votes, or 9 percent of the popular vote.

Howard Brown

The socialists accumulated 15 minutes of television time, participated with other candidates in nine hours of radio programming, spoke to some 400 persons in town hall meetings, received considerable coverage in the press, held two public forums and distributed 5,000 leaflets.

The central theme of the LSA and YS candidates, who entered the campaign when the NDP failed to present a slate under the party label was independent labor political action and the necessity that the NDP enter civic politics to end business control of City Hall. Programmatically the campaign put forward some of the basic demands of the mass movements for social change.

It took up the demands of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor for the 32-hour work week without reduction in pay and for the $2.50 minimum wage. Socialist candidates emphasized demands of the women's movement for free 24-hour child care facilities, equal pay for equal work and repeal of the abortion laws.

The school board campaign raised the issues of student-teacher control of the schools, student civil liberties and antiwar teach-ins in the schools.

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photo by Stone

LEFT WING 'WAFFLE' GROUP must mobilize NDP ranks against Indochina war and for repeal of anti-abortion laws.

Rally NDP ranks, Waffle challenged

The Ontario Waffle group in the NDP has called a provincial conference, to be held Feb. 11-13 at McMaster University, Hamilton. Topics for discussion include Waffle strategy; the role of the Waffle in the trade unions, women's liberation movement, the schools and other extraparliamentary activity; and developments in the Quebec nationalist and labor movements.

Waffle supporters have been invited to submit discussion papers on these topics. The following statement is from a paper to be presented by the League for Socialist Action.

This conference meets in a context of deepening radicalization. The massive demonstrations of labor and youth against the Amchitka nuclear test last fall showed the powerful mobilizing potential of the movement against U.S. domination of Canada, an anti-imperialist sentiment nourished by the deepfelt revulsion of millions of Canadians against the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

The radicalization of Quebec labor, its growing commitment to the independentist struggle and political action, underscores the deepening class and national contradictions within Canadian capitalist society, and puts in question the continued stability of the Canadian state structures and traditional bourgeois political alignments.

The movements for women's liberation and student control of education are a vital part of this growing radicalization.

Its thrust is profoundly revolutionary. Capitalism cannot liberate women, Quebecois, the native people. It cannot turn the universities into instruments of social change. It cannot provide wages, jobs or housing to meet the needs of working people. As these movements develop, they will have to come to a showdown with the capitalist system, the source of their oppression.

But to overthrow the powerful entrenched forces of Canadian

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No to strike-breaking! Back air controllers!

by Ron Haywood

JAN. 25 — The strike by the country's 1,750 air controllers remains solid, as they voted 85 percent yesterday to tell the government to stuff its wager offer. A week earlier, the controllers had voted 91 percent for strike action to back their demands.

All air traffic ceased as the controllers hit the bricks. The Trudeau government has consistently refused even to listen to the controllers' demands for a healthy wage hike, shorter hours and longer vacations — it is now forced to recognize their power and indispensability.

The air controllers are paid a third less than their American counterparts. They start at $4,300 less than the salary of a stewardess for Air Canada. Yet the work is incredibly demanding. Months of study, dozens of exams, intensive memorization of radio frequencies, etc. As one controller puts it, "You have to make 100-200 vital decisions at a split second notice, knowing full well that an error could lead to a catastrophe, let alone cost you your job." They complain of "the shakes," "the ulcers," "the sweat," and of being treated as "glorified clerks" by the government.

The major airlines, including the government's Air Canada, have reinforced pressure against the controllers by laying off 14,500 union workers, although the contracts of many are supposed to prohibit this.

The press is howling for parliament to be recalled to break the strike with a back-to-work law. Tory leader Stanfield has joined the chorus and Trudeau has refused to reject this option. In contrast, NDP leader David Lewis has opposed recall of parliament, and correctly labelled any attempt to deny the controllers the legal right to strike as "a betrayal" of their rights.

This is an important strike. Press and big business politicians alike never tire of telling us it is "in the public interest" to break strikes. In reality, it is in the public interest — the interest of the vast majority, the working people of Canada — to have the controllers back on the job only at the rate of pay they deserve and under the improved conditions they seek. Shorter hours and extended vacations must be an integral part of the new contract if the controllers' health and the passengers' lives are to be assured.

Trudeau may use the strike as a test of how far he can go in resisting the demands of other government workers. All labor ranks must mobilize behind the strikers to ensure their victory.

'NO' TO rooms at ire nearly ramps are **empty as 1,750 air traffic controllers remain on strike, spurning Ottawa's low wage offer.**

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capitalism, backed by U.S. and world imperialism, will require not just a highly organized and conscious mass movement; it will require the leadership of a centralized, revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the traditions and lessons of the world-wide socialist movement.

The League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere is attempting to assemble the essential forces of that mass revolutionary socialist party in Canada.

But the process of radicalization is uneven, and the mass

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Waffle must link NDP, mass movements

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of workers in Canada are still in the first stages of politicization. Their political development is expressed at this stage through the NDP, a mass labor party with a reformist program. This party poses the concept of a workers government to literally millions of working men and women in Canada.

That is why the radicalization has turned to the NDP. The Waffle is not the first organized left in Canadian social-democracy, but it is the first to speak for radicalizing mass movements which are largely independent of organized labor movement and its bureaucratic leadership.

The crime of the present NDP and labor leadership is that it is reformist in an age of revolution. But it still by and large enjoys the confidence and good will of the ranks who are themselves full of reformist illusions.

The NDP's dual character — its base in the working class, yet its failure to break programmatically with capitalism — confronts the NDP left with its greatest opportunity and challenge: to develop a program and strategy capable of mobilizing the mass base of the party around issues and demands which are directly related to their present (reformist) level of consciousness, but which project them into mass struggle for anticapitalist social change, and for a new, socialist leadership.

Seen in this perspective, what are the tasks of the Waffle?

1) Waffle supporters must reject all proposals that tend to take them away from the NDP — whether toward some alliance of "community organizers," toward the creation of "an explicitly anti-imperialist movement," or toward the formation of some independent "revolutionary" movement counterposed to the NDP.

Waffle supporters should have no fear or hesitation about identifying with the NDP, running for public office under its banner, or holding positions in riding associations and on NDP executive bodies.

The Waffle must work to extend the NDP's influence as a labor party independent of the capitalist parties; for instance, by campaigning for the NDP to present a full slate on the party label in municipal elections, and against attempts by the labor bureaucrats to form multiclass coalitions like Toronto's CO '72.

2) The ranks of those who seek to win the NDP to a socialist program include a wide diversity of views and political tendencies. What we have in common is an orientation to the NDP. To intervene effectively in the party, to firm up its political challenge to the present right-wing leadership, the left must organize as a caucus.

The basis for adherence to the caucus should be membership in the NDP and support of the key programmatic concepts which the Waffle has defended and popularized within the NDP: public ownership of major industries, a break with the U.S. military alliances; self-determination for Quebec, support of women's liberation, student-faculty control of schools and universities, etc.

The NDP leadership stifles the democratic rights of the membership; policy is decided arbitrarily in closed-door meetings or the legislative caucus; more frequently than not, democratically-adopted convention resolutions are contemptuously flaunted by these adherents of the parliamentary routine. The Waffle caucus, in contrast, must organize with the fullest democracy, characterized by complete communication with the party membership, full discussion of program and campaigns. We must end the practice of unilateral initiatives; the Waffle's trade union program has been adopted by no general body of the Waffle, and the current attempt by some Waffle elements to launch a campaign around the Canada-U.S. auto pact has never been submitted to discussion in even the Waffle labor committee.

The Waffle must defend the democratic rights of every NDP member and its own right to exist as a left caucus within the party. The Waffle must seek to become the broad milieu for all elements in the party who seek to win the NDP to socialism.

3) Above all, the Waffle must develop a strategy that can mobilize the NDP ranks and periphery through the NDP support of the mass extraparliamentary movements.

Such a strategy is as yet sadly lacking. To cite just two examples: antiwar sentiment is a powerful force underlying much of the youth radicalization of the last decade and the growth of the anti-imperialist feeling in Canada — the very force that gave birth to the Waffle. The

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photo by Jeff White

WAFFLE DEMONSTRATION. Waffle leader Cy Gonick, a Manitoba MLA, addresses Toronto rally in September 1970 protesting sell-out of Canada's natural resources.

antiwar movement, the leading anti-imperialist movement, has exposed the complicity of Canadian capitalism in Washington's aggression, and given concrete meaning to the demand that Canada break with U.S. alliances like NATO and NORAD. Yet the Waffle has made little effort to involve the NDP in antiwar actions, or even to talk up the issue in the party.

The focus of the feminist movement today is the campaign for repeal of laws restricting women's right to abortion, one of the major political challenges presently directed at the Trudeau government. Here again, Waffle members have failed to campaign in support of this movement in the NDP.

The Waffle's trade union intervention has suffered from a similar misunderstanding or ignorance of the issues that mobilize masses of people. Waffle has attempted (without notable success) to build explicitly-defined "socialist" caucuses in the unions; but militants are far more inclined to unite in antibureaucratic struggles around demands for rank and file democracy and a program that defends workers wages and living standards and seeks to extend their on-the-job rights. Instead of projecting a class-struggle alternative to trade union militants in the NDP, the Waffle has carried a nationalist line and sometimes attempted to substitute itself for the main forces of organized labor (Texpac, Auto pact campaign).

How to build the left's influence in the trade union base of the NDP? For the Waffle, which is largely peripheral to organized labor at this point, the most effective intervention is through taking the already radicalizing and mobilizing movements into the NDP and building a powerful left with these forces that already exist.

The working class is hardly indifferent to questions like the war, women's rights, U.S. domination — on the contrary, masses of workers have already mobilized around these questions and can be mobilized through the NDP where the radicalization links up with the working class.

The struggle for a socialist program in the NDP is in the last analysis a struggle for leadership of the party — and the working class — against the present liberal-reformist leadership which controls the NDP and trade union apparatus. To the extent that the radicalization continues to deepen and expand, it will pose to increasing numbers the need to construct the mass revolutionary party that will lead a socialist revolution in Canada.

Abolish Senate: Knowles

"There really is only one sensible thing to do with the Senate — abolish it," argued New Democrat MP Stanley Knowles in the Toronto Star Jan. 10.

Knowles, who is NDP House leader in the Commons, was commenting on the widespread criticism of the Senate in the light of that chamber's refusal to postpone passage of the government's tax bill.

Prominent Tories including John Diefenbaker and Senator Grattan O'Leary charged the Liberal-dominated Senate was "servile" and a "rubber stamp."

"But the real problem of the Senate is not the one they describe," writes Knowles. "The Senate does not have too little power; it has too much."

Knowles notes that "the Senate of Canada has powers greater than those of any such body in any democratic state" — much greater than those of the British House of Lords. The non-elected Senators enjoy equal power with elected members of the House of Commons. They "could veto a Commons measure year after year to the end of time." Senators are appointed by the prime minister, usually as the reward of party patronage, and hold office until age 75. They can only be removed by the Senate itself.

The "Fathers of Confederation" claimed the Senate was needed to protect "minorities." But, says Knowles, "the minority that the Senate was originally established to represent was the owning class and there is still a property qualification for senators. The overlap between the Senate and the country's boardrooms is well known. Members of the Senate currently hold 24 company presidencies, 21 vice-presidencies, 9 chairmanships of boards, 7 posts of secretary and treasurer, 3 trusteeships and 145 directorships."

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Students set referendums

Vote for abortion rights!

by Kate Alderdice

Pressure from women on two Ontario campuses has persuaded student governments to organize referendums on the question of abortion.

At the University of Toronto, the largest campus in Canada, the Students Administrative Council has called a referendum for March 8-9, the same dates as the SAC presidential elections, asking "Do you favor repeal of the present abortion laws, to give women the right to choose whether or not to continue a pregnancy?"

A similar referendum at Humber College in Toronto will also take place in early March.

The moves to hold these referendums reflect a widespread sentiment for repeal of anti-abortion laws that exists on many university campuses. Last year a referendum conducted at the Saskatoon campus of the University of Saskatchewan on the question, "Do you favor free abortion on demand?" came within a handful of votes of carrying.

Both the pro-and anti-abortion forces are now mobilizing on university campuses. In response to the growing sentiment for repeal of the laws, the right-wing anti-abortion forces, backed by the Catholic Church, are stepping up their campaign.

One example of this is an organization set up at University of Toronto, called Campus Birthright, to counsel young women with unwanted pregnancies.

"Pregnant and distressed?" reads their ad in the student paper, The Varsity. "Help is as near as your phone."

This misleading ad — which women might well interpret as being an abortion counselling service — is a cover for an organization which tries to intimidate young women into bearing unwanted children. Women who go there for counselling are harangued about the evils of premarital sex, the horrors of illegal abortion, and are even shown photographs of fetuses, and told, "you'll always know for the rest of your life that you killed."

A woman reporter from The Varsity, posing as a pregnant woman in need of help, was told,that if she carried through with the pregnancy, the organization would be willing to "hide" her. "If you don't want to go out of town," she was told, "we can still hide you in Toronto".

The Birthright counsellor told her of two girls she was counselling on premarital sex, and said, "I'm darn sure that they'd never have an abortion; if they did I'd kill them first. If they're going to take a life, I might as well too."

The anti-abortionists, of course, are fervent believers in the "sanctity of life". . .of the fetus.

This kind of outrageous intimidation of young, frightened women is part of an organized campaign to deny women the right to decide whether or not they will bear a child.

The Catholic Church's organized letter-writing campaign is gaining momentum. According to the Jan. 11 Ottawa Citizen, officials in Justice Minister Turner's office say letters are running about three-to-one against any lessening of restrictions on the present anti-abortion laws. An additional 40,000 anti-abortion letters were hand-delivered last year by the Catholic Women's League.

A spokesman for Turner's office says, "A priest in some small prairie town will preach a Sunday sermon and three days later we will have 40 or so letters from that town, many of them similar in wording."

In opposition to these forces, the Abortion Law Repeal Coalitions organized in several cities are circulating a petition, directed at the Canadian government and calling for repeal of the present laws governing abortion in the Criminal Code. The aim of the petition is to give voice to the tens of thousands of women — and men — who are in favor of repeal but don't have the resources of the Catholic Church at their disposal. The petition will be presented to the government this spring.

At the University of Toronto, the Women for Abortion Law Repeal are out to gather at least 2,000 signatures for the petition from U of T, and have established weekly quotas.

Tables with petitions and literature have been set up in the various colleges. Speakouts in classrooms, articles in the student paper, on-campus debates with anti-abortion organizations such as Right to Life, and other activities are planned to win student support for the referendum. Women who support a yes vote are urged to get involved as campaigners themselves.

photo by Angus

PETITIONING for abortion law repeal.

Feminism and the struggle for abortion law repeal

From Labor Challenge January 1972

The following is from a speech by Joan Newbigging to the Ontario Socialist Educational Conference December 31,1971. Newbigging is a leader of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and a participant in the feminist movement. She co-authored the LSA/LSO brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1968 and is currently active in the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition.

1971 was quite a year for women.

This was the year when women in Switzerland voted for the first time, when the first women entered the priesthood of the Anglican Church.

1971 was the year the Quebec Government was dragged part way into the 20th century. A number of bills were passed in Quebec enabling women to act as jurors, to drink draft beer in certain pubs, and enabling married women to own property, sign contracts and so on for the first time.

There was a higher proportion of women in the work force in 1971 than in any year since World War II. The Ontario government passed the Women's Equal Opportunity Act, striking a blow against the discrimination working women face on the basis of sex, marital status and pregnancy. The federal government amended the Unemployment Insurance Act to enable women to receive payments during maternity leave. The issue of women in the work force dominated the 1971 convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

1971 unquestionably saw more books published on women and women's liberation than ever before. It saw women's studies courses flourish on campuses across Canada.

On March 6 in London, England, some 4,000 women demonstrated for equal pay, free nurseries and the right to abortion. On March 15, hundreds of Filipino women marched through the streets of Manila to demand equality. International demonstrations were held for the right to abortion. Hundreds of prominent women in France and Germany challenged laws against abortion by signing a statement that they had had illegal abortions.

All these developments were in some way or another products of the women's liberation movement — of its militancy, its determination, its sense of sisterhood. The growth of this movement has created an atmosphere which is making it all the more possible for women to challenge the restrictions that are imposed on them and to fight the discrimination they face.

The fight for abortion

1971 was above all the year of the fight for legal abortion. Around the world, women confronted governments to demand they end the situation of enforced motherhood and grant women the right to control their own bodies.

This struggle, which will become an even bigger issue in 1972, has propelled the whole feminist movement forward. It has shown the power of women, their single-minded determination to fight for their liberation.

It is around this issue that feminists have gone beyond words to action, from discussions to struggle. It is around this issue that they are reaching out to thousands of new women and are starting to mobilize them in the fight for their liberation. It is by focusing on this issue that women are building a massive movement that challenges the very foundations of this society.

In response, the enemies of this movement have regrouped and counterattacked with increased vigor. It is in this clash, in this battle, that the women's liberation movement is being forged today.

We women are struggling for repeal of the abortion laws, for abortion on demand, above all because this represents our right to control our own bodies and our own lives. It means that we can decide for ourselves when and if we will bear a child: not the state, not the courts, not the police, not the church.

It means the elimination of laws that are used to torture, mutilate, humiliate, exploit and kill those of us who seek to exercise that right today. It means an end to backstreet abortionists, an end to having to beg before hospital abortion committees, an end to visits to exorbitantly-priced U.S. abortion clinics, an end to bearing unwanted children.

We want to decide for ourselves when and if to have an abortion; we want the abortion laws repealed from the Criminal Code.

The widespread support for this demand is unquestionable. It has been shown in the increasing numbers of organizations that have taken a stand for repeal, in the poll taken recently in Hamilton MP Lincoln Alexander's riding which showed 63.5 percent supported repeal, in the response obtained already to the petition campaign for repeal.

The impact of the movement has already been demonstrated in a number of ways. Controversy on this issue hits the press almost every day. Hospital abortion committees now feel compelled to ratify more abortions; in the last six months, 150 percent more abortions were performed through these committees.

Government spokesmen who a year ago were mouthing platitudes about the sanctity of the fetus, have now changed their tune. Their position today, as outlined by such figures as Justice Minister Turner and Supply Minister Richardson, is that there are powerful arguments on both sides and that this should be a matter of individual conscience. At the same time they are still refusing to debate this issue in the House, far less move towards repealing the laws.

In this situation the primary challenge before the repeal movement remains to translate this sentiment into a powerful movement which will force the government to act. The main ways we will do this are through building the petition campaign and the referendums for repeal on

campuses across the country. Both these campaigns are designed to confront and involve hundreds and thousands of people, to bring mass pressure to bear on the government.

Opposition to women

There is a powerful array of forces lined up against us on this issue. There is the government, the Catholic church with its mighty resources, the Right to Life Committees, the Friends of the Fetus, and all the reactionary forces in society which are subsidizing and promoting them.

All these elements stand for the status quo, for the continued oppression of women. They have some understanding of the dynamic of the struggle for the repeal of the abortion laws, of the importance of maintaining the situation whereby women cannot begin to control their lives. That is why they are such inveterate enemies of the repeal movement.

When that notorious Toronto tailor, John Bulloch, poured thousands of dollars into ads in the *(Toronto) Globe and Mail*, with pictures of alleged fetuses and morbid stories about the "destruction of life," it's not the fetuses he's concerned about. It's all the immigrant women he employs as cheap labor in his sweatshops. He wants them to be submissive, dependent and undemanding. And he sees the threat to this, once women have won the right to abortion, once they have control over their own lives.

Our inability to control our pregnancies is one of the key instruments of our oppression. And the government and all those supporters of the status quo — a status quo that murders women. — know this.

It is this that has provided the basic rationale for discrimination against us at work and in the educational system. How many times have we been told that it's not worthwhile training us because we're just going to have children? How many times have we been told it's not worth while promoting us because we'll just go and get pregnant?

As long as we are continually blackmailed by our bodies we cannot begin to take control of our destinies. And yet the means to do this exist. We are within sight of safe, effective birth control. Right now abortion is already a simple, safe operation. And yet women are forced to turn their bodies over to butchers or to bear children they don't want.

The reason? The rulers of this country want to keep us oppressed. Winning the right to abortion will strike a mighty blow to the myth that is fundamental to the oppression of women — that biology is destiny.

Biology is not destiny

This victory will strike a blow against the role of women as simply child-bearer and child-rearer, the bearer of her husband's children, his helpmate, his sex object. It will give us an independent and dignity we have not known since the birth of class society.

This is why it has become such an important struggle for women.

The abortion repeal struggle is developing in a period of deepening radicalization, when the national struggle in Quebec is on the rise, opposition to U.S. domination of Canada is growing, revulsion at the exploits of U.S. imperialism around the world is increasing, the revolt of youth is deepening.

All these movements, as they grow, are discovering the power of mass actions, of mass demonstrations in the streets. They are also finding a reflection in the NDP. This party has emerged on the federal level as a consistent champion of abortion law repeal, as most effectively expressed through the efforts of *(BC-NDP MLA)* Grace Maclnnis.

As this overall radicalization deepens, it has a far-reaching dynamic. Each struggle as it grows starts to challenge some of the basic features of Canadian society today — the oppression of national minorities, the family as we know it, the domination of the economy by large monopolies — and becomes all the more clearly anti-capitalist in its direction. These movements are organizing and educating growing numbers of Canadians around the injustices they face. They are mobilizing the forces that will carry out the socialist revolution.

The main opposition to the struggle for abortion has come from the staunchest supporters of the oppression of women. However it's not only from these right-wingers that the abortion repeal movement is being attacked, it's also from people who claim to speak from the left, or from the feminist movement.

Once women become conscious of how we are oppressed; we become increasingly sensitized to all the manifestations of this oppression. We start to see how widespread it is, how deeply entrenched, how its myriad expressions reach into every aspect of society. Such a realization can become paralyzing — how do you start to fight such a pervasive network of injustice?

How to fight oppression

Several responses have been given to this question, four of which I want to touch on. One viewpoint would identify men as our enemy and would seek to build some sort of alternative subculture without them within the framework of capitalist society. Another would argue that these injustices are mere aberrations on a system that is basically sound; that we must work with those in power — within the Liberal or Conservative parties — to gradually eliminate them.

Both these viewpoints fail to come to grips with the fact that the oppression of women is rooted in the very structure of capitalism and that in the long run it can only be overcome by radically restructuring society.

A further viewpoint holds that the task at this time is to study, discuss and understand; that we should put our energies solely into organizing women's studies courses on campuses or into building small consciousness-raising groups. Such activities are unquestionably important in building the feminist movement — in reaching out to women, in researching our past, in deepening our understanding of our situation today. Yet at the same time we must go beyond them. The task before the women's liberation movement is not only to aid us in understanding

our oppression but also to organize women to fight against it. That is precisely what the movement for legal abortion is doing.

Finally there is a viewpoint held by some groups calling themselves socialist. Essentially the proponents of this view warn us of the dangers of dividing the working class by building an independent feminist movement and (they) tell us to rely on them and on the socialist revolution for our liberation, This sterile view fails to recognize the reality of how a revolution is made — that in the process of struggling against the injustices they face as women, women will be won to the socialist movement.

The main view I want to discuss has many proponents among groups calling themselves socialist. It was in large part put forward by the Canadian Party of Labor in a leaflet distributed at the November 20 abortion repeal demonstration in Ottawa.

Essentially there are three parts to it. Firstly, they challenge that abortion is an issue that affects working class women. Secondly, they argue that repeal is reformist and that it is wrong to raise this demand by itself; they challenge the single issue character of the repeal movement. Thirdly, they make the case against uniting with women from different class backgrounds; they challenge the broad coalitions that are being built around this issue.

1. The abortion repeal issue does not affect working class women. At first this argument seems so ridiculous that it's not worth debating. Who are being mutilated at the hands of hack abortionists? Who are bearing unwanted children? Upper class women? Petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, in large numbers they are working class women, whether they are workers or housewives or students. In fact they are the prime victims of the laws as they now stand; they have the greatest difficulty in raising the exorbitant funds required for a safe illegal abortion in Canada or a visit to a New York clinic.

Two misconceptions lie behind this view. Firstly the concept that the struggle for abortion law repeal is for purely sexual liberation, with the connotation that this is frivolous and petty bourgeois. Secondly the concept that the problem, as it affects working class women, is not so much to provide the right to abortion as to provide the conditions that will enable them to raise their children adequately. There is an element of truth in this in so far as many people do not have children because these conditions — childcare, adequate housing, etc. — are not available. But both concepts betray a misunderstanding of the main point of the struggle for repeal; in that we women are fighting for the right to choose for ourselves whether or not to bear children, the right to enjoy a full sexual life without the constant fear of pregnancy, the right to decide what to do with our own lives. We are fighting for these rights for all women.

2. It is wrong to raise the abortion repeal demand by itself. Here it is argued that this demand is purely reformist; that it doesn't hit out against any of the underpinnings of woman's oppression; that unless it is raised within the context of other demands, such as for free 24-hour childcare, against discrimination at work, it will divert the struggle and fail to raise women's consciousness as to the class roots of their oppression.

In response to this argument, we have stressed that, of course, abortion law repeal is a reform, but it is one with profound implications. Winning it will pull one of the main props out of the myth of the inferiority of women.

Thousands of women with differing views on other issues are starting to unite in struggle against the government for this single demand. They are going through a rich political experience together, gaining confidence in themselves and getting a feeling of their strength. They are setting a process in motion which will not end with the winning of this right, but which will continue on to fight other injustices, and which will bring increasing numbers of women to feminist and socialist conclusions.

3. It is wrong to build a broad coalition encompassing women from different class backgrounds. These women we are told, have nothing in common with us. They are our enemies.

This view springs from an incorrect analysis of women's oppression, from a belief that it is basically only economic in character, that only working class women, in their capacity as wage earners or wives of wage earners, are oppressed. It fails to come to grips with the role that the family plays as the cornerstone of our oppression.

All women are victims of a society which, through this unit, relegates them to the role of child-bearer and child-rearer and to economic dependency. From birth it moulds and stifles them so that they will meekly play out this limited role.

The power of the feminist movement rests in large part in the fact that it has the potential to reach out to all women, regardless of their class background, and draw them into action against the economic, social and sexual oppression they suffer.

We have nothing to fear from such a movement. Rather we welcome it; the broader the abortion law repeal struggle becomes and the more women it encompasses, the more powerful it becomes. As socialists we want to immerse ourselves in this movement, to participate in its experiences, to build it, to lead women to revolutionary conclusions.

Some women within the women's liberation movement itself have also expressed hesitations about the abortion movement. They express a fear that the abortion repeal struggle is a diversion from the "real" struggle for women's liberation; that if this movement were at a higher level, it would be organizing around other facets of our oppression.

But the abortion repeal struggle is in no way a diversion — the right to abortion, to control our bodies, is in fact a crucial step towards our liberation. Moreover, this is an issue that growing numbers of Canadian women see as the one of primary concern to them. It would be wrong for the feminist movement to cut itself off from this ferment, to abdicate the responsibility of leading the struggle for this basic human right,

Mass feminist movement

Far from being an indication of the low level of the feminist movement, this is an indication of its growing sophistication. It shows that feminists are developing an appreciation of how we can reach out to more and more women, how we can build a powerful movement, how we can win victories.

A powerful campaign can be built on this question which can involve thousands of women. It can show women how to force the government to make concessions, In this sense the abortion repeal campaign can be a profound consciousness-raising experience — giving women insight into the source of our oppression and, above all, giving us a concept of what type of struggle it will be necessary to wage to win our liberation. It will set a far-reaching precedent for the campaigns we will wage in the future.

In our view the primary challenge before feminists is to build a mass feminist movement, to reach out to as many women as possible and to involve them in struggle against the injustices they face; to build a strong a force for social change as possible.

This can only be done by organizing around issues that are of immediate concern to women; that speak to their needs, problems and hopes. Today, this means struggling for the repeal of the abortion laws.

About 60 years ago our foresisters waged a campaign here in Canada for the right to vote. They took it into towns, villages, farm communities, urban centers right across Canada. They went by foot, by buggy, by whatever means were available. They petitioned, argued, persuaded, harangued. They built a strong movement and they achieved their goal.

We will do the same. And our victory on the issue of abortion law repeal will mark the first step in our struggle. With the lessons we learn from it, we will fight on against the other injustices we face — until we have uprooted the whole system that breeds these injustices.

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Nationalism and the Quebec left

by Alain Beiner

The following is a translated adaptation of an article scheduled for publication in Liberation, the Quebec revolutionary-socialist monthly.

In his reply to Pierre Vallieres' documents motivating his rejection of the FLQ and "armed agitation," Charles Gagnon, his former associate during the long FLQ trials since 1966, takes up several fundamental principles of Marxism. Gagnon seems to be fairly well schooled in the class struggle in Quebec and the bourgeois character of the Parti Quebecois as well as on the necessity of a socialist revolution.

Gagnon's sometimes-violent attacks against Vallieres' support to the PQ are completely correct. Speaking of the overwhelmingly working class vote the PQ received at the last elections Gagnon states: "But that in no way changes the fact that the PQ has an essentially bourgeois 'strategy,' electoralism coupled with an extremely fastidious legalism; or the fact that this party is increasing its anti-trade union positions ... or that the PQ arose out of a split in the Liberal party ..."

Despite the very positive and correct general conclusions that Gagnon draws from his analysis of Quebec society — the necessity that the working class take power through a revolution, as well as the conclusion that the indispensable instrument in this process can only be a revolutionary workers' party — Gagnon's document does not provide any response to the concrete question: "What is to be done?" above all with respect to the national struggle presently taking place.

Gagnon would have us believe that the Quebec revolution will just be a socialist revolution; that the national question is only a brake on this revolution; and that the independentist movement is bourgeois. Gagnon claims that "the class struggle is taking place in Quebec. The independentist movement demonstrates this. The revolutionary movement too. Two manifestations of the class struggle, but they do not originate from the same classes."

Gagnon seems to be trying to deny the dual and combined character of the Quebec revolution, which is at once both national and social. For him, the national struggle is a bourgeois struggle led by the bourgeoisie and a stranger to the working class. The ambiguities in his article suggest that national demands, such as national independence and the establishment of a national language, are outmoded, coopted by the bourgeoisie and not pertinent to the Quebec working class.

But the Quebec revolution has before it nationalist tasks as well as socialist tasks. The national bourgeoisie is not only incapable of bringing about socialism, it is unable to carry out national emancipation. The working masses have a very powerful national consciousness, which is deeper than their socialist consciousness. They are already prepared to enter into struggle for their national liberation, for independence and defense of their language.

Once the working class is fully involved in the national struggle and takes its leadership, it will not be content with a paper independence or a replacement for the English and French-speaking bosses. It will continue the struggle for its liberation from all oppressors, local as well as foreign. The Quebec revolution will likely begin as a national revolution, rapidly carrying through without interruption toward a socialist conclusion.

In Quebec national struggles and economic struggles are complementary, advancing and deepening each other. National struggles deepen the economic struggles, generalizing and politicizing them. Economic struggles are too often isolated in one factory or against a particular boss. But the national question has demonstrated throughout the history of Quebec that it is capable of raising the working class to the level of political struggle against the government.

Each national struggle points directly at the political power and poses the question of who dominates us. The very nature of the Canadian capitalist State is put in question.

Some socialists like Gagnon seem to have taken the irrefutable postulate of Marxism on the economic roots of the class struggle in general and the national struggle in particular, and concluded from it that we must turn our backs on the national struggle and prevent its further development, diminish its scope, cut back on its objectives.

Against the concrete struggle for

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photo by Arnie Mintz

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an independent and French Quebec, they often offer us some obvious principles of Marxism, like the necessity to take control of our economic destiny. They thereby bury the urgent, immediate tasks of the revolutionaries in general considerations on our goals. They often invoke elementary truths about the subordination of the national question to the economic factors or about what the workers government of a socialist Quebec would be like, in order to hide their lack of understanding of the immediate revolutionary tasks assigned to us by the national liberation of this society.

Philosophers, said Karl Marx, have only interpreted the world; the task is to change it. Charles Gagnon, too, is good at describing how rotten capitalism is and why it must be got rid of; but it seems he is unable to formulate, in the national struggle which is unfolding before his eyes, a correct slogan which expresses the needs of the masses.

Socialists who do not understand the national question do not understand the dual character of the Quebec revolution, both national and social.

While the language and independence are questions of primary importance for the nation, Marxism teaches the workers not to sidestep the national struggle, to show indifference towards it, to abandon the leadership of it to the petty bourgeoisie, but rather to participate in it most energetically, to lead the consistent struggle for liberation, for the solution of the national tasks.

CHARLES GAGNON claims national demands don't mobilize Quebec workers in class struggle. In reply, Alain Beiner defends nationalist movement in accompanying article.

In the early revolutionary epoch of capitalism, during the 18th and 19th centuries, national emancipation was a bourgeois task. This is a perfectly correct Marxist idea, but it is not enough simply to repeat it. It must be understood in the context of imperialist decay, and applied to political slogans. Only the "economists" — those who confine the struggle to economic demands — can conclude from it the denial or the minimization of the national struggle.

The Quebec working class is well aware that it needs its language and its national independence, that it needs them more than anyone. Whoever minimizes the tasks of the national struggle reduces socialism to trade unionism. And even the trade unions, these essential economic weapons of the working class, are working to extend their perspectives to the political level — right up to the level of the national struggle.

To belittle the struggle for an independent and French Quebec is theoretically to make a caricature of Marxism; in political practice, it is to leave the national struggle in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie who are incapable of leading a consistent struggle for national liberation.

Gagnon has illusions about the ability of the national bourgeoisie to lead the nationalist struggle — at least, that part of the bourgeoisie that, according to him, is "independentist," "nationalist," "anti-imperialist," taking the "initiative in the struggle," etc. But he does not understand that the Parti Quebecois, the bourgeois independentist party, is just as incapable of winning national emancipation as it is of realizing socialism, and that the "nationalism" of the PQ is a false nationalism which aims to divert the revolutionary nationalism of the Quebec masses along paths that will in no way threaten the capitalist rulers.

But as the struggle deepens and broadens, the PQ's inherent inadequacies will be exposed on the national plane as well as on the social plane. In the meantime, the antinationalist views of Gagnon and others can only unconsciously contribute to prolonging the PQ's hold over the Quebec working class.

Abortion Publication Report

By Robertson. Adopted by the Toronto women's liberation fraction. Feb. 3, 1972.

During the past couple of weeks the cross-country women's liberation committee has had several discussions about the direction of the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws in preparation for the upcoming abortion conference in Winnipeg. This report will sum up the discussion we have begun around the need for an abortion publication.

The Vancouver comrades recently raised in a letter the need for a cross-country abortion publication to build the abortion campaign. Their experience has been that the Velvet Fist has proved inadequate for this purpose. It isn't strictly an abortion publication-- it tries to deal with all the various aspects of the oppression of women and it is not tied to any abortion coalition. This poses a number of questions which we have to deal with,

The origins of the Velvet Fist

When we initiated the Fist we did not know what path the feminist movement would take, what the key issues would be, etc. But we knew that the women's liberation movement must be mass-oriented and that it must fight for women's needs. We felt we needed a mass-oriented paper to mobilize and educate women. We felt such a paper could be used, not just in Toronto, but across the country.

In the 1½ years since it began, the Fist has come a long way towards the kind of paper that we envisioned at that time. The Fist has trained the forces that know how to put out a paper, that know how to convince women to join in the struggle. In that 1½ years the women's liberation movement as a whole has also developed. Not only is the sympathy with and interest in women's liberation so widespread that bourgeois publishing houses are churning out feminist articles and books, but the direction of the movement has also defined itself. The struggle for the right to abortion is the key experience for women across the country and around the world at this time. This is the issue that women are organizing around. The main area of work for feminists across the country is the abortion campaign.

We can see from this that both the women's liberation movement and the tasks before it have evolved since the Velvet Fist was founded. With this its needs have changed. It is time also for the Fist to evolve -- not into the paper which was needed 1½ years ago but into a paper that can serve the needs of the women's movement now. That is why we feel the Fist should be transformed into an abortion paper--tied to the abortion campaign in a direct way. This new paper would rest on the rich experience of the Fist and be the logical product of that 1½ year experience, but would mark a new stage in it.

In order to make this clear I want to go back a bit into the history of our involvement in the women's liberation movement. In June 1970 we played a conscious role in the founding of TWC. We had been trough the experience of the May 70 abortion caravan, had comrades in the New Feminists and the WLM. The abortion caravan, the first big action of the feminist movement, posed sharply the problems that were stifling the movement. The possibilities of the caravan were tremendous but the existing feminist groups could not orient themselves to those possibilities

Despite our interventions the caravan was plagued with cliquism, exclusionism and ultra-leftism. The New Feminists and WLM were similarly narrow and cliquish and,after a year of fighting a dead end battle in these two groups for a mass orientation, we took the initiative along with a number of other women in forming the Toronto Women's Caucus on an action oriented, non-exclusionist basis.

Because we understand the necessity of involving large numbers of women in struggle around issues that affect their lives, we have always advocated actions that will pull the movement beyond the narrow framework of its present membership and draw new women into struggle. TWC was not formed at the whim of some women or because we didn't want to work with political opponents in other groups. TWC was formed consciously and deliberately beccause we felt that at the time that it was the only way forward for the feminist movement in Toronto.

Simlarly with the Velvet Fist. We saw that it was necessary for the women's liberation movement to have a mass-oriented publication in order to build it into a mass movement. We saw at the time that the Fist would play two roles: 1) It would be a mobilizer for various actions and campaings of the feminist movment, convincing women of a mass action perspective; and 2) it would be an educator. At that time virtually no information was available on feminism. It was projected as a cross-country paper that would build the mass action wing of the feminist movement in Canada. And we consciously intervened in both the Fist and TWC with this orientation.

Abortion: Central Issue

In the course of our participation in the feminist movement in Toronto and across the country the central importance of the abortion issue became apparent. Lack of control of our bodies is the central rationale for denying us control over our lives. It became very clear that this was the issue which was attracting the largest number of women and propelling them into struggle against their oppressors. It has also become apparant that this is the issue which the opponents of women have chosen to organize around. All the reactionary forces of society are unimous in their opposition to a woman's right to abortion.

We see the abortion issue as key to building a mass movement of women struggling for control of their lives in direct opposition to the government. Because of this we see our work in the abortion campaign as our priority and the priority of all feminists.

We have seen violent opposition to the abortion struggle among some feminists. It challenges them to respond, to reach out beyond the confines of comfortable consciousness-raising sessions and more 'respectable' struggles. Not that these other struggles aren't important -- but they are secondary to the burning issue of abortion. The whole basis of feminism is under attack, everytime we face attacks on our right to control our own bodies. The challenge to respond to these attacks, to confront the state, is simply too much for some feminists and they retreat. Abortion is too hot an issue for them. Marlene Dixon who has been a leading anti-mass action spokeswoman in the feminist movement recently announced that she was leaving the feminist movement (again) because of its emphasis on abortion.

The recent Ontario Supreme Court injunction has posed sharply once again the importance of this fight. Those oppose liberation for

women are now mobilizing not only against us winning further gains, but also against those small gains which we have already won. It is clear that even with the large sentiment that favors repeal, we women could lose this fight if the sentiment is not made visable. That is why the abortion repeal movement is so important in our view. Abortion is not a theoretical question and we are out to win.

But lets look again at the two reasons for initiating the Fist- an educator and a mobilizer. First, as an educatior-- At this time, as I mentioned, this role is much more professionally handled by other publications-- except on the Abortion question. And yet the abortion issue brings up all the most basic questions about the oppression of women.

Secondly as a mobilizer of women : The big feminist campaign which women must be mobilized for is the abortion campaign. The Fist has done much to buid the abortion campaign, but it has been limited by the fact that it is not tied to any abortion coalition and by the fact that it tries to deal with many other things other than abortion. The fact that the fist has not been adequately fulfilling these two tasks has been reflected in its sales. In spite of the fact that it is a very professional paper, etc. it has not been selling very well across the country-- that is not many women have felt motivated to sell it.

Abortion Paper-- A New Stage

Out of the experience of building the Fist, of shaping it into a mass-oriented paper, we have learned that we now must move to a new stage to meet the new demands of the feminist movement. A new publication-- a cross-country abortion publication is needed. Launching such a publication, is not, as some comrades have posed it, "dumping the Fist", but only the real and logical evolution of the Fist-- an evolution that is necessary if it is to reflect the realities of the women's movement in this country and meet the needs of the movement.

We are out to convince the members of TWC that the Velvet Fist, with its rich experince, prestige, etc. should be offered to the abortion coalition at the upcoming abortion conference. We want them to play a big role in convincing that conference that the cross-country abortion movement needs a publication. Certainly the opinion of women who have worked on the only mass action oriented women's paper on the continent will be important to all the women at the conference. It will also have an impact throughout the feminist movement in dramatically pointing out that, in the opinion of the members of the Toronto Women's Caucus and the editorial board fo the Velvet Fist, abortion is THE KEY ISSUE.

What would this abortion publication look like? It would be a mass-circulation paper, not simply an internal newsletter. It would be sold by women everywhere, particularly on the campuses and in the highschools. It would contain the arguments against the anti-abortionists, the facts of the situation today under the abortion laws. It would be an open forum for debates, researched articles, position papers, statements of various forces within the coalition. It would contain reports of events, news, interviews and personal stories. It would contain 'how to' articles by women who had found good ways to petition, fund raise, etc. Editorially it would represent the official Cross-Canada coalition which we project will be set up at the conference. In other words it would in many ways directly build the abortion struggle. It would be useful to both women in the fight already and those we are trying to convince. Such an ambitious publication is only possible because of the experience of the Fist and the experience of the whole feminist movement which has learned much about how to transform itself into a mass movement of fighting women.

REPORT BASED ON THE TORONTO WOMEN'S LIBERATION FRACTION DISCUSSION OF THE SLOGAN: "EVERY MOTHER A WILLING MOTHER, EVERY CHILD A WANTED CHILD"

Feb. 19, 1972 by D. Nelson

The abortion campaign in this country, and particularly the regional abortion coalitions are united around a demand. That demand is simple and concrete: "Repeal the Abortion Laws". That demand confronts the Federal Government.It says: take those laws out of the criminal code. We want legal and available abortions. Although the simple demand for "repeal" is a democratic demand in the context of capitalism today, it takes on a transitional and revolutionary character. But a lot of people don't understand the word 'repeal', or they do not know the present laws; in fact the demand "repeal the Abortion Laws" by itself, does not make it clear to many people whether it is for or against abortions.

Hundreds of thousands of women have to rally around the campaign to win the struggle. Because we see the development of a mass movement to legalize abortion in this country, the use of slogans becomes especially effective in building the movement.

What are slogans? What do they do? Slogans, if they are clear and simple, capture the essence of what a movement is trying to do. Slogans attempt to popularize a sentiment for a demand, to appeal to masses of people. In the abortion campaign we have a demand that we make of the federal government: get those laws out of the Criminal Code. At the same time we put forward slogans which have a popular appeal and reach out to new people with the sentiment behind our demand.

The abortion movement has created several slogans each of which can be used effectively. These slogans are: "Abortion: a woman's right to choose", "Every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child", and "Control of our bodies; control of our lives". These slogans are all anchored around the demand for repeal of the laws. The slogan "Every mother a willing mother every child a wanted child" is another way of saying "Abortion: a woman right to choose". This slogan effectively speaks to the rights and interests and level of consciousness of masses of Canadians, in particular women. These slogans say t at a woman has the right to choose whether,and when she will have a child.If she's sug ing to have a child it should be because she wants.it. If she wants to terminate pregnancy, she has that right as well. We are opposed to any other person, apart from the woman making these decisions for her.

We see using the slogans "Abortion, a woman's right to choose" and "Every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child" interchangeably. They all can be used as a theme for the conferance,as part of he conference letterhead, on posters, leaflets and banners.

The slogan "Every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child" is a powerful slogan with popular appeal. It says what millions of Canadians feel: that a woman should be able to make the decision; she should not have child bearing or child rearing forced upon her. If she doesn't want a child, she has the right

to a legal abortion. This slogan has a very broad appeal and says what the abortion campaign wants.

The movement to repeal the abortion laws stands for life. It stands for the lives and rights of women (and children) who exist today as human beings and who are trying to live in this world. The movement to repeal the abortion laws is the humanist movement. In contrast, it is so clear what reactionary forces like the "Right to Life" groups stand for. They are anti-human. They are against women and any human rights we have. They talk about the sacred fetus as if it were growing in a vacuum, regardless of the wishes of the human being who has to carry it and is then forced to raise it in this world. These "Right to Life" committees "don't care about the children who exist. David Dehler, lawyer in the Ottawa abortion injunction, talks about being appointed "guardian of the fetus" in Ontario. This person has no concept of anyone being the guardian of existing children; their mothers are forced to raise them. The state does not take that responsibility.

The abortion campaign is out to abolish state-enforced motherhood. We stand for the right of every woman to choose when and if she will have a child, and for every child to be wanted. The slogan "Every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child" is also a powerful way of pointing up the hypocrisy and ridiculousness of the anti-abortionists. After hearing of the slogan of the Ontario coalition reported in the press around the Ottawa injunction protests, Birthright, an organization that counsels pregnant women to keep their children, came up with the following slogan: "The right of every woman to be a mother; the right of every child to be born".

We're for every woman having the right to choose whether she's going to have a child and for her to want that child. In the light of an Ottawa woman having an injunction imposed on her preventing her from having an abortion, the slogan "Every mother a willing mother; every child a wanted child" is even more important.

334 Queen St W
Toronto 2B
February 21, 1972

To all locals, branches and members-at-large
Re Women's Liberation work

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are two reports given to the Toronto Women's Liberation fraction on important questions concerning the situation and direction of the cross-country abortion campaign. It would be very valuable to have discussions in your women's fraction and local and/or branch on the questions raised in these reports.

As comrades know, the cross-country women's abortion conference in Winnipeg March 18-19 is moving full-steam ahead. We want to build this conference in the biggest and broadest way in the coming weeks. In particular, we see the role that our comrades can play in this regard in their local areas and in the coalitions in their region. Our perspective is to help mobilize as many women as we possibly can to go to Winnipeg so the conference will be representative of the activists and of the different forces in the abortion campaign.

We see this conference as the launching of a new stage in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws in this country. By bringing together and uniting women from coast to coast, and thus the coalitions they represent, we project that a cross-Canada women's abortion coalition will be launched at the Winnipeg conference. This Canada-wide coalition would probably be centred in Toronto, with a full-time organizer, and would coordinate the work of the regional coalitions. As well we project the coalitions would publish an attractive mass-oriented abortion publication. (see enclosed report by Robertson)

Future actions, including spring actions and the petition campaign will also be discussed in Winnipeg. Further information will follow on this matter.

Comrades should make sure that the coalitions they are active in correspond with the Ontario and Manitoba coalitions, giving progress reports on their experiences in building the conference.

Internal correspondence in the movement on women's liberation and abortion work should be addressed to Donna Nelson at the above address.

comradely,
Donna Nelson
Donna Nelson,
Women's Liberation Director,
LSA/LSO.

Fight Ottawa anti-abortion injunction

by Kate Alderdice

FEB. 7 — An Ottawa woman whose attempt to get an abortion was halted by a court injunction Jan. 27 has decided to fight the ruling.

The injunction was issued on behalf of the woman's husband and the "infant plaintiff," represented by lawyer David Dehler, a member of the anti-abortion organization, Alliance for Life. It was immediately replied to through protests right across Canada by women fighting for removal of all anti-abortion laws from the Criminal Code.

Abortion law repeal coalitions in seven provinces have issued a call for an emergency national conference to be held in Winnipeg March 18-19 to respond to these attacks on the movement for abortion on demand.

This kind of support was undoubtedly an important factor in the woman's decision to appeal the injunction.

The injunction is the latest move in the campaign by right-wing church and pro-government forces to prevent women from having access to safe legal

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BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND! was demand of an estimated 50,000 demonstrators at Newry, Northern Ireland, Feb. 6. March was held to protest murder by British occupation forces of 13 civil rights demonstrators at Londonderry the previous week.

Brutal repression of Northern Ireland's Catholic population has sparked massive reaction throughout Ireland and around world against British rule in the North, and raised anew the demand for a united socialist Ireland.

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abortion, and therefore from having any effective control over their lives. The decision is all the more outrageous since the abortion had already been approved by a hospital Therapeutic Abortion Committee. The woman's doctor had warned her that continuation of the pregnancy could endanger her own life, and possibly result in the birth of a deformed child. She is already the mother of four children.

The injunction raises the possibility that a woman's husband, or any third party, may intervene to

photo by Jeff White

Women protest anti-abortion injunction outside the Ontario Supreme Court building in Toronto.

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have an abortion halted even though the woman wants it and it has been approved by a hospital committee. As such, it constitutes an attack on even the present laws which are very restrictive.

It is precisely the existence of such laws, which give the final decision to doctors, hospital committees, and anybody except the woman involved, — which open the door to legal attacks like the Ottawa injunction.

This incident points up more than ever before the need to step up the campaign for removal of the abortion laws from the Criminal Code altogether. This will make it possible for the woman involved to have the right to choose whether or not she wants to bear a child, and once and for all take this most personal decision out of the hands of male doctors, legislators and priests.

Although there were some attempts to pass off the Ottawa judgment as "a private family matter" it is clearly a frontal attack on the rights of all women. A spokesman for the federal Justice Department said the decision "really is a precedent" and rushed out to get his own copy of the decision.

The lawyer who obtained the injunction David Dehler called the ruling "a first step in Canada." "The next step," he crowed triumphantly, "is to have a guardian appointed for all unborn children in Ontario." Mr. Dehler hopes to have this honor himself.

The injunction comes at a time when the Catholic Women's League is stepping up its letter-writing campaign and anti-abortion organizations are moving into the high schools and campuses. A new blow at the abortion law repeal movement is the editorial in the February issue of the United Church Observer, which calls on the church's General Council to reverse its position, adopted in January, 1971, that abortion ought to be a "private matter between a woman and her doctor."

The Ottawa injunction and the other moves in the anti-abortion campaign also buttress the Trudeau government's continued refusal to abolish the present law.

Trudeau will argue he is pursuing a moderate course between the "extremists" of both anti-and pro-abortion forces. In reality, the present laws are a reactionary violation of the basic human rights of women. This is an election year and the abortion law repeal movement is not going to let Trudeau get away with it.

Within 24 hours after the issuing of the Ottawa injunction, the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition had issued a statement to the press and organized a protest demonstration of 100 women and men outside the Ontario Supreme Court building in Toronto.

Lorna Grant, coordinator for the Ontario Coalition, called the decision to grant the injunction "the most horrifying injustice possible. It is as if the court had reached right inside her womb and made a ruling on her body. As long as the courts can enforce motherhood, no woman is safe. We stand by the watchword: Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother. All this talk about the "rights" of fetuses and husbands is just a cover-up for denying women their most basic rights."

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Greetings were sent to the Ontario demonstration by the newly-formed Nova Scotia Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws and the Nova Scotia Conference of Women taking place the same weekend as the demonstration. Protest actions were organized in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Ottawa. In Vancouver, the B.C. Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition held a press conference to protest the injunction at which Grace MacInnis, NDP MP and the only woman in the House of Commons, spoke.

In Ottawa, the Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, Carleton University Women's Liberation and the Young Socialists organized a demonstration outside the Supreme Court of Canada building, followed by a march through downtown streets. An organizer, Diane Palm, said the ruling "set a really dangerous precedent" and maintained that "repeal of all abortion laws was the only certain solution to the problem." A series of other actions is planned, including a referendum of Carleton University students on the abortion issue.

Following the Toronto demonstration, the Ontario Coalition called an emergency planning meeting attended by 70 women to discuss ways to step up the campaign to repeal the abortion laws in face of the injunction. Two organizing tours were projected, one of southern Ontario and one to go across Canada building support for the repeal movement.

The meting also discussed the projected Canada-wide conference to be held in Winnipeg, March 18-19. One important purpose of the conference is to unify the forces across the country that are fighting for repeal of the abortion laws and work out some kind of common strategy.

Under discussion will be the referendums taking place on various university campuses on the question of repealing the laws; how women can inject the issue of abortion into the upcoming federal election and force candidates to make their position known and the cross-Canada organization of the petition campaign which is already underway.

The petition, which has already received thousands of signatures, calls on the federal government to repeal those sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion. It will be presented to the government some time this spring.

Call emergency conference for abortion law repeal

A call for a cross-country emergency conference of women for abortion law repeal has been launched by pro-abortion coalitions in seven provinces. The initiative has come from the Manitoba Abortion Coalition which will host the conference in Winnipeg March 18-19.

The following are excerpts from the call:

The recent Ontario Supreme Court injunction, which halted an abortion at Riverside Hospital in Ottawa at the husband's request, is a blatant assault on the rights of all Canadian women and a direct attack on the abortion movement.

This is not an isolated incident; it follows a New York Supreme Court injunction which attempted to halt all abortions in New York civic hospitals. These actions are a response on the part of the most backward elements in this society to the growing influence and strength of the movement for repeal of the abortion laws; to our growing confidence that we as women can win the right to choose for ourselves when and if we will bear children. . .

In the face of the constantly growing mass support, the government of Canada has refused to act. . .The prime Minister. . .continues to ignore the mass movement for repeal that is growing across the country — a movement to ensure that every child is a wanted child and every mother is a willing mother.

In the face of the government's inaction and the mounting attacks on the abortion law repeal movement, we must join together to show the government of Canada that we will redouble our efforts to remove all abortion laws from the criminal code. . .

For information on the conference, contact the Manitoba coalition at: **315B - 416 Main Street, Winnipeg, Man. [204] 943-2793.**

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Ultralefts abandon abortion repeal struggle

by Brenda Zannis

MONTREAL — The vicious attack on every woman's right to abortion in Canada has claimed some of its first victims in the feminist movement.

Before an audience of 800 McGill University students here Jan. 31, Marlene Dixon, a sociology professor and former feminist, attacked the women's liberation movement for its focus on the abortion issue.

This attack was echoed by two of the other three panelists at the first session of a week-long McGill conference on women,

It was warmly greeted by many men in the audience who rose to attack those "women's libbers" who are so selfishly concerned with their own needs. The daily papers across the country also played up the attack in items with titles like "Professor quits women's lib."

Dixon launched an all-out attack on the women's liberation movement but focused much of her fire on the movement for abortion. She made the incredible statement that the campaign for abortion is "all wrong" because people talk too much about abortion and not about what leads the woman to the "agonizing decision in the first place to kill the child she carries."

This statement was made on the heels of the first Canadian court

MARLENE DIXON. "Feminism is dead."

action that purported to act on behalf of the "infant plaintiff" to save "his life."

The main problem with the women's movement, Dixon claimed, is that it has become primarily defined by the campaign for abortion. According to her, more important issues such as medicare, housing, transportation, child care, education, are not being dealt with because of the emphasis on abortion.

Another panelist, Donna Cherniak, co-author of the McGill Birth Control Handbook, a pamphlet used by pro-abortion activists across the country, also attacked the abortion movement adding that women shouldn't fight for legal abortion because it is simply a reform and, if won, might be taken away again by the ruling class at any time.

These arguments, although they come from women of the left, accept the basic reactionary arguments against a woman's right to abortion — that abortion is murder; that abortion is not really important to women, only a few frustrated females are making a big stink about it while the average woman is satisfied with state-enforced motherhood; and that changes are won and secured not by mass movements of people demanding their rights, but solely by the lawmakers.

But the real significance of the abortion law repeal movement was described by the one panelist who did defend the feminist movement, Evelyn Reed.

A Marxist anthropologist and leading spokeswoman of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, Reed provoked the debate by leading off the panel discussion with an analysis of the present stage of the feminist movement.

She compared the movement of today with the first feminist wave. Today women's struggle is on a higher level, she said, because now women are demanding control of their bodies and lives. In this they are directly challenging the capitalist structures and the major institutions upholding them.

Reed pointed out that this sexist class society uses women's biology to force women into domestic servitude, making us economically dependent on individual men. Then society turns around and says that we are limited, not by society itself, but by our biological nature.

EVELYN REED. "Abortion is key issue for women."

Since lack of control over our bodies is central to the oppression of women, it is understandable that women have come to see the struggle for abortion as central to the struggle for their liberation.

And she projected that the feminist movement would be built by mass action around specific demands such as abortion on demand.

Women in the audience also rose to defend their struggle, and to speak of the need to respond to attacks on every woman's basic right to control her body. But the discussion period was dominated by the men, who not only spoke one after another, they booed and heckled loudly all the women who defended the feminist struggle.

Although the Monday night meeting launched an attack on the struggle for abortion it was not indicative of the real sentiment at McGill. The following Thursday, a meeting of 200 came out firmly behind the movement for abortion. A small group of ultralefts who had sided with the right wing at the Monday meeting, didn't gain any sympahty for their anti-woman positions from the Thursday audience. The meeting made a strong appeal for a united campaign to eliminate all laws which stand in the way of a woman's right to abortion.

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CLC brass attack workers control

Mass protests ignite Ireland in wake of 'Bloody Sunday'

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'Britain out now!' - Canadian protests

FEB. 7 — Several Canadian cities saw protest actions this weekend against the murder by British troops of 13 Irish demonstrators in Londonderry last Sunday.

In Montreal 50 people from independentist and left groups braved the cold Feb. 5, to demonstrate their solidarity with the Irish. Placards spoke out against the killings, in favor of British troop withdrawal from Ireland and for the immediate release of Irish political prisoners.

In Toronto following a week of daily demonstrations outside the British trade office, over 500 Irish Canadians participated in a protest meeting Feb. 6 called by Northern Aid (supporters of the IRA Provisionals). The organizers of the meeting attempted to establish an atmosphere of passive mourning. But the crowd was interested in further action in solidarity with the Irish cause.

Demands from members of the audience for unity in defense of Irish civil liberties were met with a sharp negative response from the organizers of the meeting and enthusiastic cheering from the crowd of young Irish militants. Mary Cotter, a representative of the Official IRA from New York, addressed the meeting on urging from the crowd and despite opposition from the platform.

Cotter called for united mass action in defense of the Irish struggle. If there is one thing oppressive governments are afraid of, she said, it is people united in peaceful demonstrations in the streets.

Further actions were announced at the Sunday meeting including a meeting the following Thursday to hear an eyewitness account of Bloody Sunday and a meeting to organize an Irish defense committee.

Over 40 people marched in a spirited demonstration through Winnipeg streets Feb. 5 against the Londonderry murders. The protest, organized on three days notice by a group of Irish people in Winnipeg, was made up almost entirely of families with children. They carried placards expressing solidarity with the Irish struggle and demanding the withdrawal of British troops.

A spokesman for the group announced that a meeting would be called shortly to organize in defense of civil liberties in Ireland.

The Winnipeg Orange Lodge had announced that they would hold a counter-demonstration of at least 600. Scarcely a dozen showed up.

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Rally maps strategy for a French Quebec

by Andre Doucet

MONTREAL — More than 70 militants participated in the planning conference of the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (FCDLF — United Front for the Defense of the French-Language), held Jan. 30 at the Amherst hall of the Montreal CNTU. The FCDLF organized the demonstration of 8,000 last Oct. 16 in Montreal in defense of French language rights.

The participants included a delegation of six from Hull and a representative from Beauce county near Quebec city.

Keynote speaker Reggie Chartrand, a leader of the United Front, explained that the struggle to defend the French language, far from being racist, was in fact a struggle against Anglo-Canadian racism. He stated that the government at Quebec City, which protects the interests of the Canadian and American bosses, including their right to exploit the workers in the English language, is the enemy of the French language, too.

Jean Herivault, a leading member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, presented the draft program of the FCDLF, soon to be printed in document form. It calls for the formation of a single public school system with French as the sole language of instruction, apart from, of course, the teaching of English (or another language) as a second language to those who wish to learn it. English-speaking students are to be integrated into the French sector during a transition period of five years.

The FCDLF is also for the establishment of French as the sole language required to get a job in any enterprise, commercial, industrial or other, as well as in the operations of the government at all levels of administration.

"It is completely unjust, antidemocratic and intolerable," Herivault declared, "that the 2,000 workers and office employees in a factory are forced to speak a foreign language, the language of the boss and four or five directors."

Following the unanimous adoption of the draft program and of mass action in the streets as the major means of accomplishing that program, Alain Beiner, the editor of Liberation and a leader of the FCDLF, presented a report on the campaign against Bill 63, the act which gives legal recognition to the privileged English school system.

As concrete projects, Beiner proposed mass legal and peaceful demonstrations to be held in Montreal, Hull and other cities March 18, with the support of all movements and associations opposed to Bill 63; a concert to raise funds; and the publication of a mobilization bulletin.

In addition, the participants decided to put forward in the trade unions the concept of a 24-hour "grève d'anglais" (refusal to speak English). The FCDLF will also organize a speaking tour in all the schools to involve the student movement in the March 18 mobilization.

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Gays fight repressive laws

by John Wilson

TORONTO — A conference on "Sexuality and Civil Rights" held at York University over the Jan. 29th weekend brought together some 40 gay activists from Ontario and Quebec. Represented were the Homophile Associations of Waterloo, Western, York and Toronto universities, the Community Homophile Association of Toronto, Toronto Gay Action, Gay Fellowship (a Unitarian group), Gays of - d'Ottawa, the Front de Liberation des Homosexuels (Montreal) and an observer from Gay People of Columbia University, New York.

Area reports revealed that some groups, especially on campus, are having some difficulties, reflecting the newness and inexperience of most of the gay movement in Canada. There was a useful exchange of ideas on how to overcome these problems.

However a real upsurge of interest in Gay Liberation papers was evident. Jerry Moldenhauer reported that the first issue of Body Politic (Toronto) sold 2500 copies; the second, with a press run of 4,000 appears to be almost sold out. The first issue of Le Tiers (Montreal) sold something like 8,000 and editor Andre Dion expects to sell at least 10,000 of the second.

Close to 200 persons attended the Friday night public meeting on "Same-Sex Marriages" which opened the conference. The featured speakers, Americans Jack Baker and Mike McConnell, currently involved in a struggle to obtain legal recognition of their homosexual marriage, argued that, whatever one thinks of marriage as such, there is no reason why gays should be denied the advantages (tax deductions, inheritance rights, etc.) given to childless heterosexual couples.

The conference itself zeroed in on civil liberties issues. Candidates in the impending federal elections will be pressed to take positions on reforms demanded in the brief presented by the Aug. 28, 1971 Ottawa demonstration — amendment or removal of sections in the Criminal Code used to victimize gays, job protection on the federal level, ending of RCMP harassment of gay civil servants, etc.

Ontario gays will mount a campaign to amend the Human Rights Code to bar discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in jobs, housing, etc. The campaign will likely include a demonstration at Queen's Park in late March or early April, to coincide with the next gay activist conference.

With changes in the Immigration Act pending, a petition is being circulated which demands that all references to homosexuals, homosexuality and "homosexualism" (whatever that is!) be deleted from the Act. At present, gay people can be denied entry to Canada and-or deported solely on the basis of their sexuality. Copies of the petition can be obtained from (and returned to): Community Homophile Association of Toronto, 6 Charles St. E., Toronto, Ont. (416) 964-0653.

Tariq Ali completes tour on Bangladesh

Despite missed connections, the airlines shutdown, and being trapped for two days by snowslides in Golden, B.C., Tariq Ali's cross-Canada speaking tour on the Bangla Desh liberation struggle made all but two of many scheduled meetings.

Tariq Ali, well-known Pakistani revolutionary and a leader of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International) spoke to sizeable meetings in all four western provinces — in Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Vancouver.

In Vancouver, a highlight of the tour was at the University of British Columbia, where 175 turned out to a meeting sponsored by the Alma Mater Society and the Young Socialists. UBC ombudswoman Joan Campana, a member of the YS, chaired the rally, at which the YS also launched its campus election campaign. Tariq was interviewed on the popular Jack Webster radio program.

The eastern wing of the tour, which included Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Peterboro, Ottawa and Fredericton was also highly successful. When Tariq Ali spoke to 300 at McMaster U. campus, he was interrupted by Maoists who also followed the tour to other Ontario centers. He was unable to speak to an even larger turnout in Halifax because of a delay in plane connections.

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JOAN CAMPANA. Barred from ballot, Young Socialist candidate for student council president is seen in her office as UBC ombudswoman.

YS campaigns in campus vote

The Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes are mobilizing across Canada in campus election campaigns on an unprecendented scale, reports the current issue of Young Socialist, the monthly newspaper.

They are campaigning for a university controlled by the students, faculty and staff; a university that is a mobilizing center for the movements that are challenging the oppression of women, the Quebecois and the Vietnamese; a university open to all but the tiny minority of big businessmen who presently exercise an effective monopoly of power.

The Young Socialists are campaigning for student councils that back students struggling for a new society; not that represent students in simply negotiating for minor reforms. The campaign is drawing in students from all the mass movements.

Demands projected by the YS-LJS include: support of the abortion law repeal referendums being conducted on several campuses, driving the warmakers and their research out of the universities, for a French-language school system in Quebec, and for free 24-hour childcare.

Some results are already in. At the University of British Columbia, the YS fought a red-baiting attempt by an opportunist coalition of "moderates" and "new lefts" who cynically used a technicality to keep the YS slate off the ballot. But an impressive 10 percent of the 3,000 voting spoiled their ballots by writing in "Young Socialist". The YS slate was headed by Joan Campana, UBC ombudswoman, for president.

"2. .3. .many Amchitka actions!" was the slogan with which the YS answered the impeachment of Simon Fraser U. student president Linda Meissenheimer who, with the student council, played a major role in the massive protests last fall — the largest actions at SFU since the 1968 strike, and which brought the B.C. Federation of Labor into Canadian labor's first political general work stoppage in 50 years.

A high-geared YS campaign generated great student interest. The slate which got a majority consisted of a group of well-known figures who rallied more conservative layers around a program of relatively minor reforms, such as better food.

YS presidential candidate Ron Cameron stated, "We clarified the issues in the campaign and won more people to the perspective of building a powerful student movement that is in forefront of fundamental social change."

More information on the YS campaigns can be found in a series of articles in the current (Feb. '72) issue of the Young Socialist. Subscription price is $1 for 10 issues, available from: Young Socialist, Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ont.

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War escalates while Peking greets Nixon

by George Addison

Television viewers in the West are watching U.S. president Nixon's eight-day trip to Peking, live and in color. The cameras follow the Nixon party as they see all the sights of China.

But there will be no broadcast of the meeting between the head of U.S. imperialism and the leading figures of the Chinese bureaucracy, Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. That part of the trip will be totally secret.

What can the tourist be expected to bring home with him? And how generous will his Maoist hosts be?

Nixon's trip, while it undoubtedly will be made use of in the 1972 U.S. presidential election, is primarily designed to establish a political relationship with the Mao bureaucracy — a relationship Nixon hopes will aid him on the international plane.

The number one item on Nixon's shopping list is the Indochina war. It has been his primary headache since he took office and, for U.S. imperialism over the past decade. Facing heroic resistance by the Vietnamese people and powerful mass actions of the antiwar movement in the U.S. itself, Nixon has to stall for time.

Nixon's long-term objectives include defeating and "rolling back" the Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions. But

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NIXON AND CHOU EN-LAI

Trudeau doubletalks as jobs crisis grows

by John Steele

The simmering frustration and resentment against Canada's shocking high unemployment boiled over Feb. 15 when 200 people occupied the offices of the Unemployment Insurance Commission in Bathurst, N.B., to protest delays in the payment of UIC cheques.

UIC chairman J.M. Desroches, dispatched to the scene from Ottawa, told the demonstrators the situation is the same elsewhere across the country, including Montreal and Toronto. The number of jobless is so great, and increasing at such a rate, that it has temporarily overwhelmed the facilities set up to handle it.

Yet just two weeks earlier, in Toronto, Prime Minister Trudeau, with the cynicism that has become a trademark of his big business government, said there were lots of jobs for people who wanted to look for them. Or, as Autoworkers' Canadian director Dennis McDermott paraphrased him, "If you slobs want jobs, go look for 'em."

Trudeau's claim was undercut by a report from an Ontario govern-

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COPS EVICT DEMONSTRATORS. RCMP move to kick out unemployed Acadien workers who had occupied Unemployment Insurance Commission office in Bathurst, N.B.

Ottawa woman tells her story

'Why I challenged abortion injunction'

by Kate Alderdice

"It was my duty to do something because it's a question of liberty, and all the women were involved in that case."

This was the explanation by the unidentified woman who, on Feb. 8, challenged the Ontario Supreme Court ruling which prevented her from obtaining an abortion. Her appeal succeeded in getting the injunction set aside, but only on the basis of a private agreement in judge's chambers. It may be reinstated any time on 24 hours notice.

She stated at that time that she would not go ahead with her abortion plans. What were her reasons? We do not know, but it may well be that this concession was the price she paid to have the injunction lifted. But regardless of her personal intentions, she courageously fought this attack which threatens the rights of all women. Undoubtedly, the outcry of women everywhere against the ruling was an important factor in her decision to appeal it.

The story of how this unnamed woman was victimized by the anti-abortion crusaders is one of the most outrageous chapters in the oppression of women. She was lied to, deceived, and denied her legal rights by her hisband, his lawyer David Dehler, the courts and behind them the Alliance for Life. Their aim? — to force her to bear a child she did not want, and felt she could not care for, so that the anti-abortion forces could win a victory in their campaign to deprive women of the right to decide when and if they want to become mothers.

For the Ottawa hearing she filed an affadavit which, for the first time, tells her own story. No major newspaper showed any interest in this statement. Only the Velvet Fist, a women's liberation paper published by the Toronto Women's Caucus, reprinted the affadavit. It is a damning indictment of the hypocrisy of Mr. Dehler, the Alliance for Life, and all others who oppose abortion on the grounds of "reverence for life."

Their conduct of the case revealed their complete contempt for the life and the rights of the woman

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involved. Although this woman is French and does not speak English well, the papers concerning the injunction were served to her in the English language. She was not able, as she points out in her affadavit, to understand their significance.

Only when she saw the newspaper reports on the injunction did she understand what was happening to her.

She went through weeks of searching and red tape, before she found an accredited hospital in Ottawa, Riverside hospital, that would agree to do the abortion for her. Needless to say, she could not find a hospital in Quebec, where she lives, to perform the operation. As soon as her husband's disagreement was made public, the hospital withdrew from the case.

She further explains in her statement that she did not appear in court when the injunction was handed down, because her husband advised her it was not necessary! She did not know a lawyer in Ontario, and was not given sufficient time to find one. Her husband even tricked her into going to Montreal to be examined by another doctor — she thought she was being taken to New York to have the abortion!

When she appeared in court, she was obviously frail and in ill health. She said in reply to a question from reporters, "My life is a very difficult one." Only a few days before, Dehler had announced to the press, "She's happy as hell. She'll have the child."

She was reluctant to get the abortion in the first place. "I much prefer prevention," she said. "But in my case I was on the pill and the pregnancy was an accident."

In her affadavit she lists nine powerful reasons why her pregnancy must be terminated. She is already the mother of four children, two of whom are extremely nervous and emotional, and whose upbringing has created great difficulties for her. For many years she has had to work full-time to support the family since her husband has not always had a job. Her marriage is a very unhappy one, and their home life is full of tension.

Did Mr. Dehler or his supporters express any concern for these problems when they launched their crusade? Did they stop to wonder how this woman could handle the crushing burden of an additional child? Did they think how she could continue to work and support the family with a new child to care for? Did they think for a minute of her life, of her happiness?

Dehler and the other anti-abortion forces in this country are not the least bit concerned with human life,

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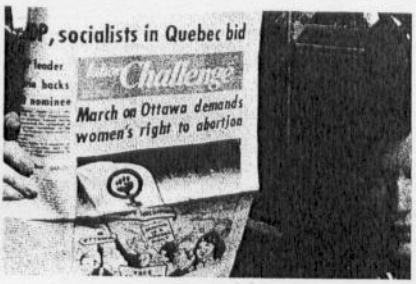
Fed up with sexist lies?



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... Injunction

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in spite of their hypocritical talk. They were willing to sacrifice this woman, and trample upon her rights, while they talk of the "reverence for life."

This woman's fight is an inspiration to all women, and an impetus to continue the struggle to repeal all abortion laws in Canada. The attack on this woman is only the first; there will be others, and only the final repeal of the laws will enable women to choose freely whether or not they want to bear a child.

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Campus vote backs abortion law repeal

Students on three university campuses have voted overwhelmingly for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws. The votes were registered in campus referendums similar to those planned at several other Canadian universities for later this month.

At University of Alberta in Edmonton, 5,000 students voted 80 percent in favor of repeal. In Toronto, at the Glendon College campus of York University, 262 voted in favor of repeal, 81 opposed.

And at Carleton University in Ottawa the vote was three to one for repeal — 1,213 to 412. This referendum was conducted at the same time as the student council elections, but more students turned out to vote on the abortion issue than for any student council position.

These first three successes indicate the overwhelming sentiment for repeal of the abortion laws which exists among students.

U.S. CAMPAIGN SETS GOALS

Over 1,000 women from across the U.S. met in Boston Feb. 11-13 to plan the next stage of the fight for the repeal of all U.S. anti-abortion laws. The spirited gathering marked a big step forward in building a powerful united movement to win this demand for U.S. women.

The conference began with a rally Friday night which heard greetings from women all over the country and from around the world. A woman from England spoke of the struggle of women in her country to gain the right to abortion. She said that abortion is paid for under the national health plan, but restrictive laws mean that in fact it is only available to a minority — usually the richer women.

Lorne Grant of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition told the conference of the fight for legal abortion in Canada. "Our struggle is international," she said, "because around the world women are made criminals for seeking abortions. But the opposition to us is international, too."

Grant pointed out that just weeks after an injunction was handed down to halt abortions in New York municipal hospitals, an injunction was issued in Ontario preventing a woman from having an abortion.

The conference, which included many workshops and plenary sessions, mapped out plans for a week of activities May 1-6. These activities are to include abortion hearings, rallies, demonstrations, etc., and are projected for every state. The conference also reaffirmed the national coalition's main demand — for repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

LORNA GRANT ON CANADIAN SPEAKING TOUR

Lorna Grant, coordinator of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, is currently on a cross-country tour to publicize the struggle for legal abortion. She is speaking to audiences from Halifax to Victoria on "The abortion issue: State-enforced motherhood — or a woman's right to decide?"

photo by Jeff White

Lorna Grant

The main aim of the tour is to publicize an upcoming cross-Canada abortion conference which will seek to unite provincial abortion groups. Other publicity for the abortion conference, which is scheduled for March 18-19 in Winnipeg, includes a poster, a conference call, and a letter signed by Grace MacInnis, MP (NDP), and Laura Sabia, chairman, National Ad Hoc (Action) Committee on the Status of Women in Canada, appealing for support and funds to build the conference.

Further information on the conference can be obtained from: Cross-Canada Abortion Conference, 315B-416 Main St., Winnipeg, Man., or from your local abortion law repeal coalition. Cheques should be made to Cross-Canada Abortion Conference and sent to the same address.

BRIEF TO OTTAWA SUPPORTS ABORTION LAW REPEAL

A call for repeal of all sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion, was high on the list of demands when an eight-woman delegation from the National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women met Feb. 8 with Manpower Minister Mackasey.

The organization, headed by Laura Sabia, represents over 40 women's groups with two million members. The purpose of the meeting with Mackasey was to press for the implementation of the major recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Trudeau governmment has done nothing about the report which was released in December, 1970.

In addition, the delegation recommended that each province establish a child care board to be responsible for providing child care services in its area. The committee is also seeking money from the government to finance a conference of the women of Canada this April.

— Jacquie Henderson

labor Challenge #50 Feb 1972

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From t... editors:

Where is Waffle going?

To anyone who attended the Ontario Waffle conference in Hamilton Feb. 11-13 or reads the report of it in this issue of Labor Challenge, it should be obvious that the Waffle is in crisis.

What this means can be illustrated by a simple contrast — what the Waffle had to say at its origins and what it is saying today.

In 1969 the Waffle electrified the NDP ranks with a manifesto and a program based on all the key demands of the independent mass movements and issues around which people are mobilizing and radicalizing in this period.

An anti-imperialist strategy for public ownership of major industry, an end to the Vietnam war, a break with Washington's military alliances, a foreign policy based on support for socialist movements around the world, and, within Canada, self-determination for Quebec.

Full identification with the program and campaigns of the student movement for student-faculty control and free tuition, of the women's movement for abortion on demand, free day care, equal wages, etc.

Most important, the Waffle stood for taking these demands into the NDP, seeking to mobilize the party behind them around the general theme, "Win the NDP to a socialist program and leadership."

Today what does the Waffle have to say to radicals? On the face of it, the strategy projected by the leadership at the Hamilton conference must mean: leave the campus, ignore the feminist movement, at least its most dynamic sector, never mind the anti-war movement — anti-imperialism doesn't mean internationalism, our problems are at home. Above all, leave the cities — at least the one most of you are living in. The action is in the "hinterlands," not the metropolis, as Jim Laxer puts it. And do ... what?

The dismaying thing about the Waffle today, at least with respect to what its most prominent spokespersons do and say, is that it seems to have no answers to the most important question for every political activist — What to do next?

The biggest political event of the year will probably be the federal election campaign. Yet the Waffle has failed to articulate a strategy to link the demands of the radicalizing mass movements into the NDP campaign, to make the election the tremendous politicizing experience it can be for masses of Canadian workers and students.

The issues the Waffle has projected — an impending resources sellout and the dropping of the auto pact safeguards — are speculative in character; they pose many questions, and some not very convincing answers which in turn pose new questions — but

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nothing concrete around which to mobilize.

To recognize the centrality of the working class to any meaningful strategy for social change is necessary, but the Waffle's sharp turn toward an industrial implantation at all costs is unviable and incorrect. The focus of the radicalization is not in the trade unions but in the independent mass movements which have grown up around such issues as repeal of the anti-abortion laws, an end to Canada's complicity in the Indochina war and the need to break with U.S. military alliances. These issues can best be linked with the working class through the New Democratic Party.

The ultranationalist, **workerist** politics the Waffle is drifting into are essentially a formula for inaction and stagnation — for a turn away from the NDP or, with some, liquidation into the NDPand virtual capitulation to the right wing's hegemony in the party. Whatever actions are inspired by these politics can only be adventures resulting in further isolation of the Waffle from the trade union base of the party.

A sharp turn is indeed in order — back toward action in and through the NDP, around a strategy and program which can mobilize the party ranks behind the independent movements in mass struggle that combines electoral with extraparliamentary methods.

The Waffle has a large constituency, both actual and potential, in the ranks of NDP members and supporters. It can become a vital force in working class politics — by leading the fight for a socialist program and leadership in the NDP.

Waffle fights NDP expulsion threat

TORONTO — Supporters of the Waffle movement are appealing to the NDP membership to close ranks against moves to proscribe minority tendencies within the party.

The threat is posed by a resolution sent to the Ontario NDP provincial council from Hamilton Mountain riding association. The resolution urges that the party constitution, which excludes members or supporters of another political party, "include those that adhere to any clearly identifiable ongoing political group who organize, solicit funds, employ staff, hold press conferences to expound their own point of view instead of operating within and supporting democratically arrived at decisions of the party through conventions and council action."

The resolution is slated to come up at the March meeting of the provincial council.

In a letter sent to all riding associations in Ontario, 10 leading Wafflers including Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins state: "If the Council passes it, the resolution would give the party executive the power to expel any party member who is active in the Waffle group or even supports its activities. It could lead to a purge of loyal party members ... (It) would amount to a serious restriction of the democratic rights and liberties of rank and file party members and risks doing grave damage to the party."

They note that among those who have publicly supported the Hamilton Mountain resolution is Ian Deans, MPP for Wentworth and newly appointed NDP house leader.

"We think," they state, "that by being organized as a grouping we have, in fact, been successful in making our party more active and alive ... We believe that the democratic rights of minority viewpoints must include the right to organize dissent and we believe that the Waffle grouping has done that effectively and reasonably."

They urge riding associations to support a resolution from the Bellwoods (Toronto) riding opposing the attempt to proscribe minority viewpoints. The Bellwoods resolution argues in part: "Any attempts to limit debate through administrative measures can only, in the end, do irreparable damage to the party."

New Democrats across Canada should get their riding associations and affiliated trade unions to pass similar motions and forward them to the Ontario provincial council before March 18-19.

The campaign to defeat the thought-control motion from Hamilton Mountain should be seen as a first step toward eradicating all such exclusionary clauses in the present constitution of the party. Membership in the New Democratic Party must be open to all those who support the party and express willingness to abide by its program and principles.

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Vancouver NDP must run full slate

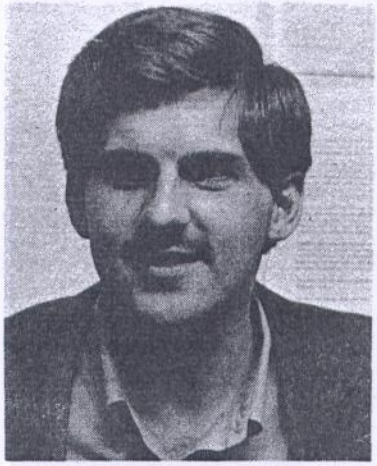
by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — Alderman Harry Rankin has a new idea to try to forestall a serious NDP campaign in the 1972 municipal elections. But the idea seems all too familiar.

Instead of supporting a full NDP slate, Rankin, in a letter sent to several hundred individuals in Vancouver, proposes a new electoral coalition which he sees as "the unity of NDP people, labor people, people like myself, small business people, etc."

Motivating his proposal on CHQM radio, Rankin said "Obviously the NDP isn't going to elect anybody running as the NDP. COPE, I think gradually can elect a few to Council, but maybe not without years and years passing. What then is the effective method of dealing with this problem? It is a form of united front of those elements in the city who think that this can be changed by the next election."

Rankin's proposal is simply electoral opportunism — an effort to avoid the fact that only by building the NDP, the labor party, as the core around which to unite the power of labor with students, tenants, women, native people, etc., can the grip of big business control be broken. Moreover, the scheme expresses the bankruptcy of the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) which Rankin and others have been trying to build as a similar "progressive coalition" for several years, with notable lack of success.



GARY PORTER, author of article, is Vancouver organizer of League for Socialist Action. Porter was aldermanic candidate in 1970 election

It is important to recall that, apart from Rankin's own candidacy, the NDP consistently polled higher votes than COPE in the 1970 civic elections. That was because the NDP is a mass party, a party organically tied to the trade union movement, a party which has evolved as the party of labor in Canada, and which particularly in B.C. can elect members on both the federal and provincial level.

COPE has now admitted its bankruptcy, and nobody needs to repeat bad experiences. The Vancouver Area Council of the NDP can explode Harry Rankin's bubble at its March 18 municipal convention simply by declaring it will enter a full slate in next December's election, and that the NDP campaign starts now. That's the challenge — the NDP must respond.

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In review

"Democracy and Revolution"

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION, by George Novack. Pathfinder Press, 1971. 286 pp. Distributed in Canada by Crescent Publications. $3.55

Editorial writers in the daily newspapers and other apologists for the present system of private property often use the word "democracy" when they mean "capitalism," in a deliberate attempt to confuse and disorient people and discourage the investigation of socialist ideas.

Similarly, the bureaucratic dictatorship created by Stalinism in the Soviet Union has been invoked to confuse many about the meaning of revolutionary socialism.

To the equation: Democracy equals Capitalism, was added the equation Communism and Socialism equal Dictatorship.

For revolutionary Marxists, in contrast, the undemocratic regime in the Soviet Union is the product, not of communism or socialism, but of Stalinism — the degeneration of the Russian revolution resulting primarily from the isolation of the first revolutionary workers state in a hostile capitalist world, and weighed down by the economic and cultural backwardness of a largely peasant population, a factor inherited by the revolution and not a product of it. And the workers states of Eastern Europe — occupied by Stalin's Red Army after World War II — were bureaucratically deformed at birth.

The present generation of radicalizing youth around the world are much less affected by the moribund Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union than they are by the increasing manifestations of a rebirth of revolutionary consciousness among antibureaucratic dissidents in the Soviet population. Today's oppositionists are fighting for the same democratic liberties that flourished in the early days of the Russian workers state, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

The young radicals are more impressed by the struggle of the Czechoslovakian masses for socialist democracy — for "socialism with a human face" — than they are by the temporary victory of Soviet armed force in crushing this struggle. Many of them, moreover, have noted the significant coincidence between the Czech struggles and the massive revolutionary worker-student upsurge in capitalist France in 1968.

It is increasingly difficult for the apologists or world imperialism to disorient radicals by pointing to the anti-democratic nature of Soviet society, while U.S. imperialism and its supporters around the world violate the democratic right of self-determination of oppressed peoples using unprecedented criminal brutality. The calculated lies of the U.S. rulers — some of which were revealed in the recently published Pentagon Papers — in its attempt to crush the colonial revolution, is a devastating exposure of the vast gulf separating official bourgeois ideology and the reality of naked imperialism in its pursuit of profits.

If the colonial revolution and the struggle for socialist democracy in the workers states have undermined the old myths about democracy and dictatorship, an equally significant factor is the experience of growing masses of people in the advanced capitalist countries, struggling for democratic rights. And out of struggles around democratic demands like free speech, the right to organize, the right to abortion on demand, and so on, is emerging a new generation of revolutionary

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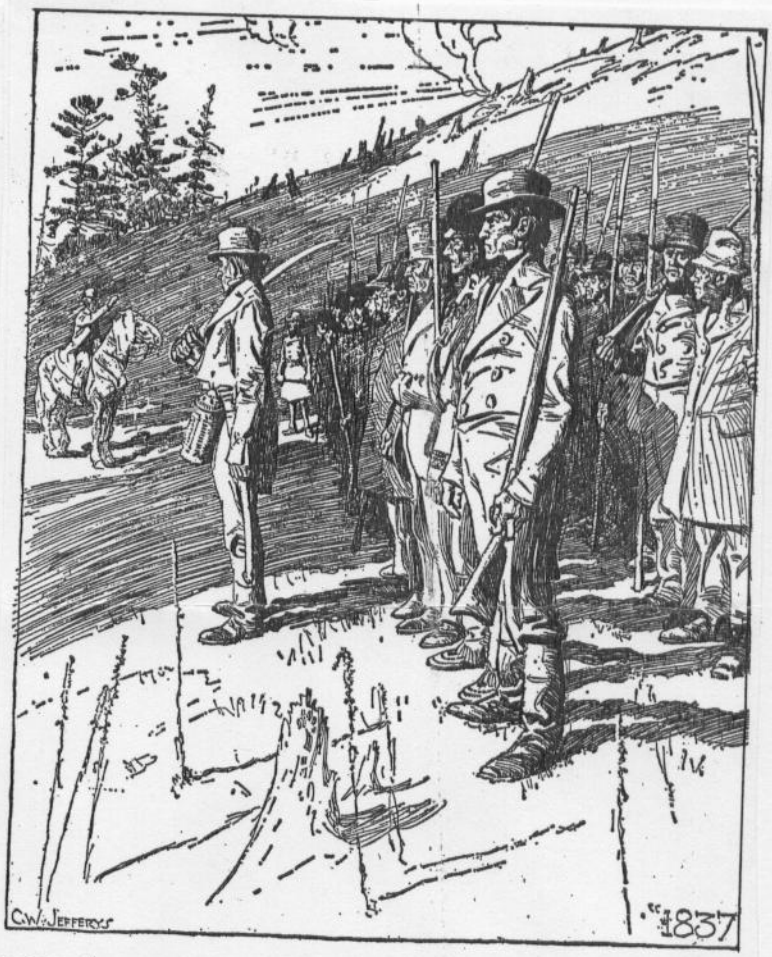

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY. Revolutionary democrats of Upper Canada march down Yonge Street in 1837 to confront British colonial troops. "This fascinating history," reviewer writes of Democracy and Revolution, "teaches. . .that the establishment of bourgeois democracy — limited as it is — was the product of the powerful intervention of the masses at crucial historical junctures."

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socialists.

Why this is so is graphically explained by the American socialist scholar George Novack in Democracy and Revolution, published in 1971. The book is of the usually high standard which Novack has set in his many previous books and pamphlets.

The publishers say, "this is the first comprehensive history, from the Marxist standpoint, of democracy in all its important aspects. It traces the sequence of its evolution through the three successive stages of precapitalist democracy, rise and decline of bourgeois democracy and the problems and prospects of socialist democracy in the twentieth century."

One of the many important lessons which this fascinating history teaches is that the establishment of bourgeois democracy — limited as it is — was the product of the powerful intervention of the masses at crucial historical junctures. The most meaningful aspects of bourgeois democracy enjoyed by the working masses today — for example, trade union rights — had to be wrested from a reluctant owning class at the cost of thousands of working-class lives. Capitalist democracy, and above all, trade union rights — was not a gift of the propertied class to the working class, as capitalism's chief apologists would have us believe. The turbulent history of the rise of industrial unionism in North America is adequate testimony to this fact.

Even more important, the political parties of the propertied class and the state structures they control today do not have an intrinsic interest in defending our democratic rights and in fact violate them at every turn. Novack shows clearly that in the present period of the decline of capitalism as a world system, even bourgeois democracy is everywhere under attack. Witness the recent wholesale abrogation of civil liberties when the Trudeau administration invoked the War Measures Act.

Democracy and Revolution is not an abstract history of a dead past. On the contrary. A full third of the book deals with present realities. "How can democracy be defended and extended?" is the title of a chapter which leads into the vitally important relationship between mass struggles for democratic rights — e.g. the women's rights movements — and the struggle for socialism.

Novack writes that "the struggle for the preservation and promotion of democracy has ... passed to the working class and its allies among the oppressed sections of the population ... "Liberals and reformists look upon bourgeois democracy as the ultimate means of transferring power to the people ... Marxists take a fundamentally different approach. They regard bourgeois democracy not as an end in itself but as one stage in the evolution of popular sovereignty whose progressive achievements have to be preserved. However, these conquests continue to be imperiled by the ever more reactionary rule of the rich during the decay of capitalism.

"They can be maintained and expanded only through the independent action and organization of the working masses and all the oppressed against the monopolists and militarists, which should ultimately lead to their dispossession from power ... The best defense of democracy is the most powerful offensive for workers' power and socialism ... The pivot of such a program is the reliance of the working masses upon their own organizations and independent mobilizations to protect democratic rights and extend them."

— David Williams

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SUNDAY

MARCH 5

7:30 P.M.

CLASS 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE C.C.F.

* The formation of the CCF * Reformism and the Regina Manifesto * The CCF and World War II * The CCF in power in Saskatchewan * From a farmer party to a farmer-labor party * The fight for a Socialist CCF * The CCF stalemated

SUNDAY

MARCH 12

7:30 P.M.

CLASS 3

THE RISE OF THE N.D.P.

* The formation of the NDP * For a labor party or a liberal-labor coalition? * The revolutionary potential of the NDP * The party hardens * The struggle for a left wing and the onset of a new radicalization

SUNDAY

MARCH 19

7:30 P.M.

CLASS 4

THE N.D.P. AFTER TEN YEARS

* The new radicalization * The rise of Waffle * Waffle, the revolutionary socialists and the fight for a Socialist N.D.P. * Parliamentarism, mass action and internationalism * The NDP as a party for a socialist Canada?

SUNDAY

MARCH 26

7:30 P.M.

(layout by R.D. -ed.)

Ross Dowson reporting on Political Resolution at Spring Plenum LSA/LSO, March 31-April 2, 1972

(from NA CD "J" --notes by website editor)

(Chair) Art Y: Voici l'ordre du jour (du Plenum) (…) le camarade Michel (Mill) nous a écrit une lettre à propos de son assistance et voici une phrase de la lettre: "circonstances (…) des heures de travail et le nécessité de nous de rencontrer nos co-penseurs dans la section nous empêchent d'être present à la session du vendredi du Plenum et nous oblige de partir assez tôt dimanche" donc les camarades (seront absents) avec raison pour cette session...

Donc, nous passons sur le premier item de l'ordre du jour, la rapport politique.

(Ross Dowson reporter –ed.)
Well comrades, normally one might consider this to be the most important report before the Plenum and therefore it would be required to be a well prepared report -- incisive, inspiring, in giving directions, etc. However, I must apologize to comrades, we're not able to meet our own desires to present a rounded or even written political report. As comrades know we are coming into the convention; we're only a couple of months away from the pre-convention discussion and we had anticipated that we would have a wealth of documentation for this Plenum. However a series of other events have taken place and overwhelmed this process. As a matter of fact the most important challenge before the Plenum at this time is another question which has just arisen, and that is a very serious attempt on the part of the leadership to restructure the leadership of the movement in preparation for the coming convention.

That has partly overwhelmed some of the political work which will have to be taken up after the Plenum. Now, prior (to this) Plenum, the Political Committee had a series of discussions on the documentary preparations for the convention. We had a lengthy discussion on what we wanted to have for this convention – the likely discussions on what we wanted to have for this convention -- what was the big challenge before the movement at this coming convention. What does the Trotskyist movement need so that it can head confidently and boldly into the struggles and opportunities immediate ahead.

Well, as most of us are well aware, our movement, the youth and the League, has in the last two years, displayed itself as the effective gathering of serious revolutionaries, who are leading activists in the radicalizing process on all fronts in this country. We are, I think we can say, the most effective organizers; (we) have the clearest and most incisive ideas on all the immediate aspects of the struggle – the women's liberation struggle, the antiwar struggle, the student struggles, the Quebec independentist struggle.

But we do not have readily available ONE document that, as they say, pulls it all together, that pronounces in a clear and incisive way OUR GENERAL VIEW of the TOTAL challenge before the Canadian revolution, before the Canadian working people.

We have adopted in the past several years a series of documents which are extremely important and we now have a body of material which I think most of the comrades have found extremely useful – I think we have a good idea where we are going – you might way, however, IN PART –

for instance at the 1966 convention I think we adopted “The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions” which is a very rounded document on our attitude to the trade union movement and our understanding of the challenges before the militants in the trade union movement and the place of union struggles in the developing revolution.

And we adopted I think it was about two years later the document “Canada-US Relations” – a more important document than we thought at the time when we adopted it – a document which dealt with what we called Canadian nationalism, in considerable detail and in a very rounded way. As a matter of fact I was preparing some talks on this question and I found that that document answered all the questions that are still being posed in the “Waffle” *(the large left-nationalist caucus that burst into the NDP in 1969 --ed.)* and the new radicalization on a broad scale. We adopted that in 1968. In 1966 we adopted the document “(Vive le) Quebec Libre” (when) we started to approach the challenge of the rising independentist spirit that was sweeping across the Québécois. And then in 1970 we adopted “For and Independent and Socialist Quebec.” We adopted at another congress, a brief, I think we adopted (it) at a convention, a brief we prepared for the Canadian government of Canada Commission on the Status of Women. So we have as you can see a series of documents that deal with various areas, the key areas of the radicalization.

But I think we are all aware that this material has to be brought together and to give to our supporters and those workers who are moving in action, the students and womens' liberation activists the total picture of what we see as the whole direction, and so we came to the conclusion that what we needed at this convention is a political resolution, not strictly a CONJUNCTURAL resolution, but a resolution which was an OVERVIEW – that's generally what we said we wanted to do.

So we're working on it, but comrades can appreciate that it is a very big project. As a matter of fact, I'm now just getting a feel (that) its going to be a very comprehensive work – extremely valuable but it's going to take some little time to prepare – we'll have it in time for convention. – but we're not going to have it for another couple of weeks, maybe another month, it seems to me, before we have this worked out.

But I'd like to give a sort of feeling of what the challenges of this document are, and then while I haven't written it, therefore one doesn't know what are the contentious questions within our own ranks, I took a little time out and skipped part of the process and tried to deal with what I think may be some of the contentious questions that we are dealing with in this document, so that the comrades could in some way participate in the process of the preparation of the document.

As I say, it would be better if the document was here (so) that the comrades could study it, examine it, and concretely come to grips with it. But I have tried to make a bit of a synthesis of some aspects of it which I think may be contentious in our ranks, and in which we could all participate in and bring some clarification to during the Plenum and I hope after the Plenum -- that there is some correspondence on some aspects of the questions. So here is how roughly I see the document – very very roughly.

We want to deal with "what is Canada," what's its place in the world? And what's its special relations with the US – (the) military machine and financial oligarchy. We want to deal with the question "is Canada a colony?" Or is it a developed capitalist society? We want to deal with Canada and the "national question" -- two aspects of the national question – Canada as an imperialized, and as an imperialist, nation -- an exploiter of a nation within its own borders, Quebec, and an exploiter of external colonial peoples, particularly the West Indies. We want to deal particularly with Quebec nationalism, the independentist struggle and its revolutionary and socialist dynamic. We want to deal with the language question, and its relation to the overall struggle for Quebec independence. We want to more clearly and precisely define the PQ – the Parti Québécois – and the meaning and immediacy of the demand for a labor party in Quebec.

And we want to make a detailed analysis of the class structure of Canadian society, and class antagonisms in Canadian society. And we want to deal with the farm question, which we've never dealt with (adequately), with the working class, what's happening with the working class, the structure of the working class. We want to take up the union movement, and the NDP, and the new radicalization, and *(tape recording fades out)* You can't hear anything? How's that now? A buzzing – that's me. It's my false teeth.

OK? Can you hear me now? So we want to deal with the Waffle and the relationship of the revolutionary vanguard cadre to this broad left current in the New Democratic Party. We want to deal with the problem and the question of building a cadre on the way to building a vanguard party. We want to deal with the path to power in this country -- the question of parliamentarism, of parliamentary rule, which of course is a common concept which the NDP and the Communist Party project. We want to outline in a broad way what the revolutionary road is. We want do deal with the mobilization, the coordination and the direction of all the radicalizing forces toward the establishment of workers' power.

So that's just a general sketch of it – a sort of panoramic document, as you can see. I have never read such a document *(RD laughs)* however we're going to write such a document for this coming convention and its going to be a very big project for us, but I think its going to be an extremely rewarding project. As I say, we have much of the basic materials for this in the various positions we have adopted on the various aspects of the question. But we know there are some gaps, and there is a very important lack of synthesis of them, a bringing together with a qualitative difference of character to them – in essence we will be writing the program of the Canadian socialist revolution – with certain conjunctural aspects to it, but generally an overview. So that's why we haven't got it.

Now I would just like to take a little time to try to pull out a few of what I would think – there may be many more – but what I think would be the contentious questions, and I would hope that comrades would say something on these questions in the discussion, or any other questions they would think might be overlooked, might not be comprehended by the drafters of the document. I think one of the big challenges for our movement to come to grips with, is what is called "Canadian nationalism" – with what we have said is anti-imperialism, and what we have to some degree somewhat formalistically, counterposed to "internationalism." I had an occasion to read through the document that we adopted at I guess it was our '68 congress, and I think that certain aspects of this document have not been assimilated by our movement, and certain problems that

were posed in that document have not really been answered by our movement yet. For instance, we said that to call this phenomenon "nationalist," "Canadian nationalism," is not only to designate it incorrectly, (as) it leads to (a) dismissal, if not an opposition to it. However, we also of course said very, very clearly in this document that we considered this as one of the main sources of radicalization of the Canadian working people as a whole, and we said it is a fundamental task for us to identify ourselves with it, to intervene in the developing struggles around it.

We went on to say, not only is it an anti-imperialist sentiment developing towards anti-capitalist consciousness, but it is essentially anti-imperialist and finds no basis of support in any sectors of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend US imperialism, not only out of natural affinity, but with the clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the US ruling class. That terminological reservation we put into our document, being a misnomer *(i.e., the term 'nationalism' being simply equated with multiclass 'patriotism' –ed.)* -- I think it caused us not to fully grasp the question, since we didn't find the NAME of the phenomenon, and had some reservations about identifying ourselves with a phenomenon that is called "Canadian nationalism," although the document is permeated with the idea that we identify ourselves with it completely; but because of this hesitation, our doubts about the NAME of it, it seems to me, and a possible misunderstanding of it, we have not in my opinion come to grips with this question. It's not clear in our press, it's not clear in any of our propaganda, in our student milieu, in any area – we have not translated this in an effective way, it seems to me – our identity with it.

However, we weren't caught cold when this phenomenon came onto the arena in the biggest and grandest scale – I'm referring to the Amchitka struggles *(the spontaneous mass demonstrations led by B.C. high-school and campus youth in response to US President Nixon's decision to explode a nuclear bomb in the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska –ed.)* This, in our opinion, I know (...) just shortly after the Amchitka actions in which we involved ourselves on a very big scale, we held an Ontario Educational Conference here in Toronto and I gave a speech on Canadian nationalism and Amchitka, and I ripped aside, I ripped away the term "Canadian nationalism" and I no longer put the reservation around it that it was an anti-imperialist sentiment, and I attempted to identify our movement with this phenomenon completely and absolutely; and (this) caused some unease among the comrades – considerable unease among the comrades when I did this. We did move into the action, which was the biggest, most broad anti-imperialist action that has taken place in this country – the Amchitka protest.

So we were more or less prepared for it, but we hadn't assimilated it fully, and hadn't overcome certain reservations that we had about this. I think on this question we've got to come to grips with this very openly in the document and we should no longer hesitate to completely identify ourselves with "Canadian nationalism."

I think we need to deal with this document in some detail, some detail with the question of the language struggle, it's importance in the independentist struggle as a whole, and we have to give a more precise analysis of the Parti Québécois – I know we have written some documents, we have a position, but this is an ongoing challenge before the Left, to continue to interpret this movement, and give an analysis of this movement. I know from my own experience, and I'm sure its a big experience and challenge to the comrades in Quebec. You can't talk to any radicals

who have any understanding or any identity with the Quebec struggle without knowing that the PQ is the key question, which we have to really firmly come to grips with a clear analysis. I think we have to do this again and more profoundly in this document, and we have to relate, to find a relation (solution) to how we can present the concept of a labor party in this struggle -- (to further assess) the political development of the Québécois, which the PQ represents – the political development of the independentist struggle – but a non-proletarian movement – a non-proletarian party.

I think we have to deal with the radicalization process in a more precise way than we have. Rather than just a descriptive, and an identification with it, I think we have to come to grips with a concept that permeates our documents and speeches, a concept that these struggles in their individual parts, and in their totality, are anti-capitalist, and are revolutionary – they're revolutionary and developing (into) an anti-capitalist struggle. I think that we have to declare in a very clear way that these struggles have their own legitimate purposes and their own legitimate aims, and are not to be weighed with regard to their own legitimacy in relation to some other struggles, for instance, in regard to the working-class struggles. They have their own aims, their own programs and demands and their own dynamic and their own part in the overall radicalization of the masses in this country.

And it seems to me we have to establish a REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST critique of Waffle. It is no longer adequate for our movement to identify itself with Waffle or see the Waffle as an affirmation of our analysis of the NDP, and to participate in Waffle and to criticize various aspects of its program, but we have to make a revolutionary socialist critique of Waffle, and establish our relation(ship) as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard in a very open, clear and incisive way to Waffle. Above all we have to define Waffle in relation to the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socaliste Ouvrière, and to the Young Socialists and to the L.J.S. (Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes). We have to define it as a reformist current, and define the LSA as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard party – in this discussion that is taking place in the NDP left wing.

So, I don't think by any means that my few comments (do more than) open up the door for a broad discussion. I think that the document of the tendency which has been circulated to the comrades, the document called “Peripheral movements” expresses in perhaps the most false, but the most clear way, an incorrect attitude towards the radicalization processes and their various parts. The document of the United Tendency on the peripheral movements questions the legitimacy of the student struggles! Not only does it challenge (the concept) that there is a student program for the student struggle and that it is possible to develop a transitional program for the student struggle, but it gives no credibility and no significance to the student struggle in itself – sees it only completely as a detonator or initiator but gives no legitimacy to the student struggle itself; and I think we need to establish very clearly in the student milieu and all these movements which are not peripheral in any meaning of the sense, but are part of the total struggle, the increasing radicalization of the masses of this country.

And I think we have to put this as I tried to say in my preliminary comments on one aspect of the document, within the framework of the mobilization of the Canadian masses of which the industrial proletariat are the key sector in the seizure of power but which are only part of the whole radicalization process, even though they may be -- are -- the decisive part – the other

sectors are in not in any sense “peripheral,” in the sense that their struggles are not relevant or not an integral part of the whole radicalization process.

So I'm hoping that a few some of these comments I've made will be useful for a discussion by some of the comrades here today, which we will record and which will be useful in further amplifying certain aspects of the document, I'm sure there are whole aspects of the document of course which I haven't even touched on.
(Ends)

Discussion on the report on the Political Resolution, by Ross Dowson
(NA CD "K")

I think the general response to this challenge in the union movement is answered in the need to struggle for Canadian trade union autonomy; not separatism, but autonomy. I think this is the big demand that confronts the Canadian union movement – to fight for the rights of Canadian workers within the union movement, as they ARE NOW. This is the way you fight against the union bureaucracy – how you fight to build a militant rank-and-file operation.

I'm not sure what comrade Stew was getting at, but there's not going to be any discussion on trade union work at this Plenum, so I'd just like to say a few words on what I sense he was talking about. Yes, I think the question of a united Quebec union movement is posed very sharply. If necessary, independent, and separate, from the CLC *(the pan-Canadian Labor Congress –ed.)* However, I think it is not exactly posed in the way it might appear to some comrades. You see, the Quebec Federation of Labor is not a trade union centre, in the real sense of the word. It has no authority, it has no discipline, it has no (there is no method) in the process of its operation in which the Québécois workers can express themselves as a force within it. Its composed of international unions essentially – the UAW (Autoworkers), Steel, etc., and so the fight has to take place for the correct sensitivity of these unions to respond to the Québécois' needs within the international unions – that's where it has to take place.

I'd just like to say about the Canadian nationalist movement as we know it, and some of the fears that were expressed by Alain, I think it was, that this movement has some reactionary overtones insofar as Quebec is concerned. I do not think this is true, except in the “Committee for an Independent Canada” – its true there – the bourgeois attempts to respond to this. I think thiswas very clear –we quoted one of them in the press – Claude Ryan, made it very clear in his statement – "we have nothing to talk about in Quebec, you see, people like us" in *(the Montreal daily)* Le Devoir – "(for us) this is a real problem you see, we don't have this phenomenon of Canadian nationalism" – he didn't want to identify himself with the (Quebec) independentist movement. I think when you talk about this movement insofar as it is a viable current in the radicalization process which we are working in – that is what you want to talk about – it is pro-Quebec. It identifies itself with Quebec independentist movement, and that was behind the big success of the Chartrand tour – the big factor in its success *(with the popular militant Montreal unionist--ed.)* It's identified (with this) and as you know, as has Waffle. Of all the positions that Waffle took at various times, its Quebec position was the most correct one, and the most precise position, in identity with our position.

Yes, I think the Waffle does present us with a challenge, on a different plane that it did. I'm not sure that I suggested that Waffle is a hard current, as Dick translated that. It has many elements – I don't think we can say where Waffle is going, or that we need to be prophesizers of where it is going. I don't think we have to make phrophesies either about the PQ, and whether independence can be realized in Quebec within a bourgeois framework. It think it is irrelevant. I don't think we need to exclude that (possibility). I don't think it bothers us at all, whether Quebec can establish some form of independence through and by the PQ within a bourgeois framework. I think it is quite possible it can – well, someone said, even probable. However, this only presents a challenge in its real and most profound character. It this independence of any validity, of any meaning – this is independence which is more tied in with American imperialist capital investments, à la Parizeau *(PQ leader and economist).* No one is going to take that very seriously once they come to grips with the reality of it; so it poses the SOCIALIST projection.

Unfortunately we don't have tables here I wasn't able to (record remarks) -- relate to many of the questions the comrades put forward, but I've taken considerable notes on them – in particular the comments by Gary and Dick picked them up, on the NEW working class, you might say – are very important for us to deal with. I think the bourgeois society is more vulnerable than its ever been in any period of its history – and to present its vulnerability as being completely in the hands of the classical industrial proletariat, is quite wrong. I think what some persons call the "petty-bourgois" workers -- the "professional" workers, the workers that are now becoming radicalized, the school-teachers and technicians of various characters – they are in many senses now, in a much more strategic position than the heavy industrial working class, because of the increasing vulnerability of capitalism.

I'm glad we have tapes of what's said because I thought the comments were extremely valuable that comrades put forward, and while we didn't have time to allow comrades' second round contributions, that they will make these contributions, send them in letter form and we will attempt to assimilate them. I didn't sense any problems, or contradictions in any of the contributions the comrades made, and I think we have a very clear idea of what the line of this document is, and that we will be able to formulate to the satisfaction of all the comrades, and of course, to their edification.

Art Y. (Chairperson): OK. Le rapport de Ross est proposé for l'adoption. En faveur – Contre – Adopté

Ross Dowson: Crescent Publications report
(NA CD "M")

A report on Crescent Publications can go many ways. I was going to say a few words along with what John (R.) was saying, that generally our movement is overly activist-oriented. It doesn't dedicate enough time and energy to the necessary administrative work – which Crescent is a very essential part of. For long years when our movement didn't have a paper and when it had no publications, (our) open bookstore sold other people's publications, and scraped together the rent to finance the circulation of other people's publications. But now we're in a very good situation to use the publications that are financed by others for our ideas, and we haven't taken advantage of that in a very full way. For instance, I don't see how we can hope to intervene with any effectivity in the youth radicalization without really using Pathfinder Books, which we do in a very modest way. We put up literature stands in many places – we have one here in our Plenum surreptitiously here, but I think we have not taken seriously the big opportunity that is open for us by using other people's bookstores – other people's facilities – even the books that are ripped off, they have to pay for them, you know. So the whole thing is a very favorable opportunity for us to move in with material that other sectors of the world movement have provided for us.

Now comrades should know that the energy that has been put in by our movement to put out the few publications that we have, (gives us) a rough idea of what our American comrades (SWP, New York) have done to get Pathfinder on the road. Well we have a big advantage here where they've done the work. We also have a responsibility, of course, because they've worked for the revolutionary movement, and the North American continent has to be looked upon as a total (effort) in developing the market for English-reading material – the responsibility – its an opportunity and responsibility of ours. And we haven't allocated near the time and the energy either at the centre or at the peripheries (laughter) to do this work.

As a matter of fact, what's challenging now for us to do, is to start a serious publication program of our own, and ethe only place we've done that is in Montreal. The comrades of the LSO have (started) an extensive publications program. They've used the money of the Central Office because they've been more initiating – the money belongs to the common movement, but the English-speaking section didn't use the resources that we have difficulty in scraping together, but we have scraped together. We've done it. When the comrades in Montreal demanded it, we said yes, we found the dough – its small amounts, on the basis of the publication program, but they have an extremely elaborate and effective publications program. And in the English language we have not done this. And yet we have a big challenge and big opportunity – in the English language we have even a bigger opportunity. The comrades in Montreal – their publications cannot be circulated in any meaningful way in English Canada, but we now are the biggest agency – we are the only important agency of radical books in Canada – we have ALL the radical publications – nobody else has any that are worth a damn.

From a commercial point of view, from a publicity point of view, from any view, we have them all, and we have a distributing agency which is not really working, which can be put at our service, because of course because we're tied in, in a modest scale, what Vanguard Publications there are, in with the Pathfinder, in with Merlin, in with New Left Books. So we have one sheaf

of publications which are undifferentiated. But the most interesting ones it seems to me are the ones on Canada -- since we're in Canada and for anybody (who) is concerned, and I think we now have a vehicle to make it well worth while – not only necessary – but well worth while to devote a great deal of energy in a publications (program). Any publication we put out now can get a circulation – is guaranteed a circulation, I would say of a thousand or so. We should all start to become authors. Anything we're going to write that is any value or importance, we're going to put it out as a publication, quickly. As a matter fact just a year ago, or even less – comrades outside the centre don't know of this – we had an opportunity thanks to a Federal government grant, to respond to an appeal to submit titles to an all-Canadian list of current books – it was Canadian nationalism, you see – books that were authored, published and printed in Canada – somebody got a big grant to do this – and (as) we happened to be in the Canadian publications business, we heard about this, and we submitted the names of all our publications and we added authors to them. We put in the LSA women's brief – I think we put Joan Newbiggig as the author, we put Dick as the author – well, he wasn't in the strictest way; the party documents, we have put individual authors' names to them, and put them into the hopper, as publications of a commercial character, and we're getting a response from that.

The catalogue of Canadian publications went throughout the world. 400,000 copies? Some incredible number of copies of that catalogue were published and we're now getting orders across Canada on that catalogue – in every public library, in every university library, in every book agency, in every bookstore, it's everywhere, and its got our publications listed in it – so its very important for this whole area, and we have not devoted time or energy to it. It's unlimited possibilities, you can talk about it and do something about it in almost every area. Real opportunities, and I think the comrades should know that we have all the publications agencies that one could want and we could carry our literature. We're going to carry Pathfinder into areas where (they've) never been before. Pathfinder would be lifted by all the other more established, more accepted, publications of the Left. And our publications, of the League, the Vanguard publications are going to be carried, too. So we have to respond to this
(end)

Alain (B, Montreal): Ross a commencé à expliquer un peu de ce qu'on a fait au Québec (…) nous avons maintenant sept publications de publiées (…) et nous avons adoptés neuf autres brochures pour les prochaines mois. A Montréal, il y a une soif énorme pour de telle literature (...y compris dans le milieu anglophone) (...)
(fin)

Memorandum by RD Plenum Easter /72 (tra/typ)

You ~~Montreal~~ comrades (now in Montreal) are now going to have to consider whtehr you should support the action of the national bureau--their decision that instead of expelling Leon and M-C they should be (that) suspended until the convention which would make ~~the~~ decision.

It seems obvious to me that you must support the national bureau decision. I say this as one who did nothing at all to enable the national bureau to make that decision and by that token demonstrated my opposition to it. As you probably know I went along with the expulsion line when I heard of the Leon and M-C action and if I had been in Montreal would surely have been one of its strongest advocates.

The expulsion line was wrong from the start just looked at from a serious political point of view and I regret that I and no one else stopped ~~one~~ to consider this elementary fact. Just look at it from what you could anticipate would be the reaction of the tendency!

Expulsion would have dmeanded that they have nothing at all to do with Leon and M-C-that they would have had to treat them as enemies of the LSA-LSO. Thwy could not do so--and obviously it should have been apparent to anyone who knows anything at all about the tendency that they would not do so.

The expulsion line would have confronted us with a whole series of further violations of discipline by the tendency which would have instead of bolstering up our discipline forced us to carry out a whole ~~further~~ series of further disciplinary actions. We would have got tied up with disciplinary actions from here right on into the convention and the operation of the movement would have become a farce

We (including myself) should have been guided by that very tricky and ~~profoundly~~ profound dictum--always look before you leap.
or dont say x unless you are prepared to say a-b-c-

ross dowson

labor Challenge

#51 Mar 1972

Conference to unite abortion campaign

by Lis Angus

The first cross-country abortion conference, to be held in Winnipeg March 18-19 brings together women from Halifax to Victoria to map out a co-ordinated strategy to win repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws. This conference will weld together the diverse groups and individual women fighting for repeal in every part of this country.

The fact that we are **able** to organize on this scale is no small accomplishment. Women in our society are traditionally socialized in the opposite direction, **away** from organizing against our oppression. We are taught to expect competition, mistrust and divisions among women; our conditioning leads us to put others' needs before our own, to passively accept our restricted lives.

Yet we have been able to overcome some of that conditioning. We have learned to recognize that without uniting our efforts we are powerless. Our only strength lies in fighting together as women.

This important lesson was one our feminist foremothers learned in their struggle to force an adamant government to grant them the vote. It was buried in conservative reaction which stilled all protest — including the feminist movement — in the 1920s. Only recently, out of our experiences as part of the second wave of feminism, have we regained our recognition of the necessity of an organized women's movement.

The struggle which is teaching us most forcefully the necessity of a strong movement, is the struggle to remove abortion from the Criminal Code.

It is no accident that abortion has become the focus of women's struggles to control our own lives. The right to legal abortion involves the most fundamental rights of women — to control our own bodies, to remove from the state the prerogative of forcing motherhood on us.

Many of the inequities we face in education and at work are rationalized on the premise that we may become pregnant at any time, that this is beyond our control. These inequities are experienced most sharply by working class women, whose access to abortion is also most severely limited.

Opponents of women's rights to organize, particularly the government and the Catholic church, have recognized the importance of this issue. In response to the growing strength of the movement for repeal, these forces have launched a series of vicious attacks on that campaign and against women's rights to abortion.

Abortion has become a big issue in Canadian politics. The news media touch on the debates surrounding the campaign almost daily.

In the process of building the abortion law repeal movement over the past few years, we have been learning concretely **how** to struggle — how to organize to win victories for women.

In 1969, when the first small women's liberation groups formed in Canada, we had no experience in how to organize or what to organize around.

One group, the Vancouver Women's Caucus, moved out boldly to organize women around repeal of

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photo by Jeff White

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Winnipeg abortion conference

Continued from page 1

the abortion laws — and met with phenomenal response. The VWC in 1970 led an Abortion Caravan across the country, stopping to speak to meetings of women in every city, to confront the government in Ottawa with a crowd of 600 women calling for repeal and "free abortion on demand."

Some of these women chained themselves to the visitors' gallery in the House of Commons, giving speeches on the right to abortion until they were removed by guards.

The response to this audacious action revealed clearly that here was an issue women right across the country had come alive to. They were obviously ready to act on it.

The hearings of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, held across Canada in 1968, had already indicated that denial of abortion rights was a key issue to many women. The caravan made the sentiment for abortion on demand a central fact in Canadian politics.

At the same time, a strong opposition to women's rights began to crystallize around the abortion issue. The sentiment for each woman's right to abortion continued to deepen following the caravan action. More and more women began organizing around abortion — most of them within organizations they already belonged to. In response to this pressure, many groups like the conservative Canadian Medical Association took a stand for repeal of the laws.

A number of organized actions such as the Feb. 13 march on Ottawa against the government's inactivity were held in the following months. But the use of the slogan "free abortion on demand" as the central slogan of the campaign was found to limit the scope of the campaign.

Through organizing together in common action, we had learned the importance of formulating demands capable of mobilizing the broadest masses of women in struggle around a central issue. With this in mind, the movement changed its central demand to "repeal of all abortion laws," which proved to be a clearer demand and one more able to unite broad forces behind the campaign.

By the fall of 1971, provincial abortion law repeal coalitions had been organized in seven provinces. These coalitions united the scattered struggles against restrictive abortion laws into one campaign; they brought together far broader layers of women than ever before in the common struggle against these laws. We began the process of learning how to unite in action despite differences on many other issues.

The Winnipeg conference comes out of all our experiences of the last two years. The conference will meet the task of uniting these provincial coalitions into a co-ordinated cross-country coalition which can fight the battles of the campaign with the greatest possible strength.

This process of learning how to organize, how to reach out and win support for our struggle, is a continuation of the fight begun by our feminist foremothers. It is a process that will not end as long as women are oppressed.

MAY 9, 1970. Cross-Canada "Abortion Caravan" culminated in a mass demonstration for women's right to abortion on Parliament Hill.

A woman replies to Trudeau

Who's to judge? No one but us!

photo by Arnie Mintz

NOVEMBER 20, 1971. Mass actions for repeal of anti-abortion laws challenge church and state control over women's bodies, and draw thousands of women into the struggle for their liberation.

labor Challenge
#5 Mar 1972

by Jacquie Henderson

From now on I think it would be wise, Trudeau, to have your security guards check those women for lethal weapons before allowing them to come close enough to kiss you. Since you've made it clear your kiss is the kiss of death a lot of us are fighting mad.

It happened last week when one of our sisters from Sault Ste. Marie asked you a question. She asked how long the government planned to turn its back on the health and welfare of Canadian women and if we could expect any action from the government to repeal the abortion laws.

You began as always by ignoring the question. But after you lectured for awhile on the merit of various slogans, you came out with it: Abortion is killing. The crude justification for denying women the right to abortion used by all the most reactionary elements in this society.

None of them are ever very seriously concerned about the life or rights of the fetuses they claim to be spokesmen for. Their concern, your concern Mr. Trudeau, is for denying women their most basic rights. It's not that you really consider the fetus a human being, is it? It's just that you don't really consider women human beings.

I think you made that clear, Trudeau.

You say you stand on the side of life against death in the case of doubt. What hypocrisy! There is no doubt that abortion is a life and death question. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women estimates that 1,000 women each year are maimed or killed as a result of illegal abortions. Thousands more are admitted for post-abortion repairs through the back door of hospitals that refuse to admit them through the front door for legal abortions.

And yet you didn't comment on this murder of women. Instead you philosophized about the "killing" of a clump of cells.

But not all killing is bad, you tell us. Some can be justified in legal and moral code. You mean like the killing of women by criminal laws, we ask? Like wars, you explain. Or hanging. This callous cynicism must certainly win for you the prize for being the lowest sort of women hater, Trudeau.

You tell us we must be able to justify our "killing." And with an absurd logic you compare abortion to a situation where you yourself might kill in self-defense. And just as you would have to answer to the courts, "if a mother kills her child, or a doctor kills a fetus . . . she must answer for it."

But, who is talking of killing children? As far as we can see from your lack of action in response to the demand for day care, you aren't any more interested in the welfare of children than you are in that of women. A fetus is not a child. And all your words will not make it one.

A child like a woman should have some rights — the right to be a wanted child, not a product of state-enforced motherhood.

And who should the woman answer to? You, Mr. Trudeau? Are you going to judge on all our cases like a Roman patrician over the lives of his slaves? Or is it the present hospital boards composed of honorable men who never even see the women involved; who pass judgment on the basis of how good a story the woman has, on how prominent a psychiatrist she has to speak for

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her; who demand women prove they are incompetent and insane and then keep them waiting in suspense for weeks only to turn down many.

Women should be denied the most basic human rights by your logic. We have fewer rights than the insane or senile. We are assumed irresponsible until we can prove ourselves responsible.

You have used the prestige of your position as prime minister to put forward this scandalous view. Just as your government has used its power to maintain the present murderous abortion laws against the wishes of the population.

But at least you've finally said where you stand. No more double-talk like: "It's up to the women of this country" when you know damn well it's your laws which prevent women from making even the most basic decisions over their own lives. No more promises to take up abortion in the House and maybe do something on it. You've been doing that for years.

And some of us had some illusions about you because of it. Oh, we've known you're not exactly a champion of women's rights, but perhaps if we spoke to you in the right way.

Your party has its conferences, its task force on women and its appeals to women interested in a just society.

But in a few brutal words you exposed the facade. Neither you nor your party are the least bit interested in the rights of women. On the eve of a federal election, you have declared abortion a central political question. You have declared war on women. You have declared your intention to use all your weapons as you have in the past — the laws, the courts, the government, the press.

But we have on our side the cause of justice and the support of millions of Canadians. We intend to organize it into such a powerful movement that you will have to repeal those inhuman laws. We will be uniting with all who support the democratic right of women to choose when they want to become mothers.

We'll fight for everything you oppose, Trudeau — the right of all women to live full, creative lives, free from constant worry about unwanted pregnancies. And we'll fight to win, because for us this is not an abstract debate. It is war and our lives are at stake.

Montreal conference backs Morgentaler

MONTREAL — "I didn't take lives, I saved them," declared Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal physician facing charges for performing illegal abortions.

Morgentaler was addressing a conference of close to 150 people called by the Comite pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement in Montreal March 5.

The conference adopted a resolution to carry activities publicizing the Morgentaler case beginning with a picket line outside the court when his case is tried later this month. They also decided to organize a province-wide day of protest against the abortion laws on May 6.

Morgentaler, a leading member of the Humanist Society of Canada, is well known throughout Canada for his longstanding fight for women's right to abortion, for his concrete aid to many women who needed safe abortions but could not get them legally because of the laws.

Dr. Morgentaler is pleading not guilty to performing criminal acts. He agrees he did abortions but claims it is the laws, not himself, that are criminal. The conference enthusiastically agreed with him.

The conference also heard speeches from the editor of the French-language Chatelaine magazine, Lise Payette of CBC, and Suzanne Trudeau of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The provincial NDP sent a message of support.

Family planners debate abortion

OTTAWA — Women's right to abortion became a central issue at the recent government-financed family planning conference in Ottawa, even though conference organizers had stated it was not to be allowed on the agenda.

Denying women the right to abortion is a form of rape, declared Dr. Lise Fortier, gynecologist in charge of the family planning clinic at Montreal's Notre Dame hospital. In direct defiance of the ban on abortion discussion, she attacked the abortion laws as a "montrous inequality" where women are discriminated against on the basis of wealth, language and community.

"The injustices can only be eliminated by repealing the laws," she said.

The conference ended up adopting the position that family planning policy should encompass abortion, despite the objection of many delegates that abortion was too controversial to take a stand on.

labor Challenge #51 Mar 1972

From the editors:

Feminism and political action

Should feminists contest the coming federal election as "independent" candidates or encourage more women to run as candidates in all the political parties? These questions are posed by the formation of the Women's Movement for Political Action, initiated by activists in such organizations as the Voice of Women.

The group has held no public meetings yet, but in a press release Kay Macpherson, a leader of VOW, states: "We may try running a trial woman, even across parties, to find out if women will lend support to a candidate to get more women in the House of Commons."

Similar views were expressed recently by Laura Sabia of the National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women. "I don't care how you do it, but make sure we get good numbers in the House," Sabia told a meeting in Toronto, describing such political action as a "new strategy" for the women's movement.

There's no doubt that women face scandalous discrimination in government and political life. Trudeau himself admitted it when he told a delegation of professional women Feb. 28 that of the 1,380 appointments to boards and agencies by his government since he took office in 1968, only 116 have gone to women. And his only defense was that this miserable record would look good if compared with the record of other governments and private industry!

But to see the solution in fielding more women candidates for public office is to beg the question: what is their program?

Candidates' programs are established by their party affiliations, not their sex. And in Canada, politics have long been polarized along class lines between the parties which defend women's oppression — the Liberals, Conservatives and Social Credit — and the New Democratic Party, the labor party challenging all those parties of big business.

The central issue for the women's movement in the next election will be repeal of the abortion laws. Only one party has a clear unequivocal position for repeal: the NDP. The logic of any campaign to run "independent" women candidates is necessarily directed against the NDP.

The women's movement must challenge all the parties and candidates on where they stand on this issue.

But activists in the women's movement have no business joining or working for any of the capitalist parties. They must get into the NDP and work actively within it — as candidates, too — to see that the NDP identifies firmly and prominently with the abortion law repeal campaign and other demands of the movement.

What can women get out of the federal election? The biggest step forward would be the election of an NDP government solidly committed to repeal of the abortion laws. That's what politically active women must work towards.

labor Challenge #51 Mar 1972

Vancouver convention challenged

Launch full NDP civic slate!

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — The March 18-19 municipal convention of the Vancouver NDP presents the party with a big challenge in this key city — to launch a struggle for power at City Hall in '72.

Big business rule through the so-called "Non-Partisan Association" has meant that profits of big business, real estate hucksters and big contractors always come before the needs of the city's working people.

It means long lines at the unemployment insurance and welfare offices, proposals like the "third crossing" — more freeways and deteriorating public transit — giant office buildings for the Toronto-Dominion Bank and Bennett's provincial government bureaucracy, while housing costs and rents continue their steep upward climb.

The only force that can break the grip of big business on City Hall is the New Democratic Party, the party which projects a workers' government at every level — federal, provincial, and municipal — across the country. Only the NDP — and no other alliance or grouping or coalition — can win Vancouver for the working people, tenants, women, students and Native people.

To do this, the NDP must announce that it is out to win, to challenge the NPA and their "new-look" big business associates in The Electors Action Movement (TEAM) and to drive them and their capitalist backers out of City Hall.

This can only mean a full slate of NDP candidates for City Council, Parks Board and Board of Education, headed up by a strong mayoralty campaign. A full slate will present the party as a serious force, galvanize the NDP ranks, and challenge all who are opposed to big business rule in Vancouver to join the NDP and build the campaign.

This may well be an election year on federal and provincial levels, too. By entering a full civic slate, the NDP campaigns at all levels can mutually reinforce each other around an integrated strategy that challenges capitalist control from Parliament Hill to City Hall.

The Vancouver NDP convention must draw on the experience of NDPers active in the labor movement, tenants' groups, welfare organizations and the movement against the third crossing, to formulate a clear program that carries forward this challenge.

Such a program would include demands for full employment including reduction of the work week of city workers to 30 hours for 40 hours pay, a crash program to build houses, schools, hospitals, childcare and abortion centers and full backing to unions fighting against plant closures and layoffs and for a shorter work week.

An NDP City Council should back women's struggle for repeal of abortion laws and the movement to stop the Indochina war with its resulting inflation and unemployment for Canadians.

Education cutbacks must be fought and student-faculty control of schools supported by an NDP Board of Education.

An NDP Council should recognize tenants' committees as bargaining agents against landlords, build large scale low-rent, tenant-controlled public housing and replace the present appointed police commission with an elected Police Review Board.

Tax policy of a labor-based NDP council should completely reverse the heavy taxation of workers, homeowners and tenants, which is used to subsidize real estate speculators and big businesses. The two mill-rate system — low for homeowners and high for business — a steeply graduated business tax and a tax on church property would be long steps in this direction.

Ald. Harry Rankin's proposal for a loose coalition of "progressive-minded individuals" — a proposal which fully expresses Rankin's own conclusion that his Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) is bankrupt — is an irrelevant diversion from the real challenge of a labor administration, an NDP government, at City Hall.

In 1970, when the NDP failed to field a full slate in the Vancouver elections, the League for Socialist Action entered three aldermanic candidates in an effort toward filling in the NDP's partial slate. If this convention fails to meet the challenge, the LSA is fully prepared to consider this course again.

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Manitoba NDP must fight Schreyer school aid plan

by Gary Kettner

WINNIPEG — In a surprise move Thursday, March 3, Manitoba Mines Minister Sidney Green resigned from the Cabinet over the issue of public aid to private and parochial schools. Green, one of the most respected members of Schreyer's cabinet, has, despite his identity with the record of the Schreyer regime, maintained a certain reputation within the party as a left-winger. His resignation comes as a challenge to the rightward course of the NDP government.

Green has long taken a firm and principled stand against aid to private and parochial schools. He declared in motivating his resignation that state aid should not be used to finance religious dogma.

This was one of the most hotly debated issues at the NDP convention last fall. Opposition to the pro-aid resolution, led largely by the Thompson local of the Steelworkers union, included half the cabinet and forced the tabling of the motion. Only Schreyer's personal intervention brought the convention to agree to a free vote in the legislature.

In his letter of resignation, Green declared that before and during the NDP convention in November he had accepted the proposal that the issue be settled by a free vote in the legislature whereby policy would be adopted which did not reflect a government position. However since that time it had become clear that Schreyer intended to push through personally legislation on this question.

Schreyer justifies his stand by saying that aid would give parents the "right to choose" currently denied them by the additional cost of sending their children to private schools. But the concept of state-aided parochial schools is profoundly undemocratic. It contravenes the basic concept of separation of church and state established by the French, English and American revolutions. If there is public financing of parochial schools, religious parents will be under constant pressure from the Church to send their children to them. And students will have absolutely no choice about what kind of schools they go to.

SIDNEY GREEN. Quits Schreyer cabinet.

This issue is not a new one to Manitoba. There has been a long history of struggle around it. In the 1880s separate Catholic and Protestant school systems were maintained by the government. It was only in 1890, after the eruption of the famous Manitoba Schools Question, that a public school system was established. Since then there has been considerable pressure from the churches and parochial schools to restore some form of aid to religious schools. This led to the Conservative government making provisions for limited aid in the form of shared facilities.

Certain sections of the left support aid because they believe this will enable them to set up "free schools" with government money. This opportunist support for reactionary private schools is based on the mistaken belief that such "free schools" will somehow pave the way for large scale reforms of the school system. This approach sidesteps the need to fight for better public schools for all students right now.

It is clear that the majority of Manitobans are opposed to aid to private schools. Mail in both Conservative and NDP constituencies is running considerably against aid.

This is an issue around which the growing discontent with the rightward course of the Schreyer government can be brought together. It poses an important challenge before the left in the NDP — to mobilize around this issue and lay the basis for a powerful opposition to the right wing politics of the Schreyer cabinet.

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Blakeney ignores NDP program

by Joe Young

SASKATOON — On Feb. 24, at the opening of the Saskatchewan Legislature, the new NDP government unveiled its first full legislative program. The program was very disappointing.

There was not a word about women. The December NDP convention resolution calling for the government to set up abortion clinics around the province had been swept under the carpet in response to the pressure of anti-abortion forces inside the party and out.

There was no mention of plans to democratize the university governing structure, another convention demand. Instead, a few days after the opening it was announced that cutbacks were being made in the university budget and there were plans to fire large numbers of the faculty by the administration. There was an announcement of increased financial aid to students, but nothing which could really open the universities' doors to students from working class backgrounds such as abolition of tuition fees. For the farmers there was the announcement that a land bank commission will be set up but there was no clarification as to its nature. Will it be just a glorified real estate agency like the one in Prince Edward Island or will it be a genuine instrument for removing land from the speculative market and brining it under the control of the province so it can be leased at a nominal rent to those who want to farm?

One of the major emphases of the throne speech was unemployment, particularly of youth. The solutions offered were no different than those of any other provincial government — a few make-work programs. One major solution which the government ignored was legislating a shorter work week with no loss in take home pay and mounting a campaign to have this instituted across the country. This is a demand which has been put forward by the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor.

ALLAN BLAKENEY. Saskatchewan NDP premier.

The only mention of labor, which has been clamoring for a new trade union act to do away with laws discriminating against unions, was the proposal of legislation which would "promote industrial harmony by strengthening conciliation, mediation and arbitration procedures," according to the Star Phoenix.

There was no legislation to deal with the U.S. takeover of Saskatchewan resources. As a Waffle press release before the opening of the legislature stated, "the closure of the Imperial Oil refinery in Regina and the later adoption by the NDP convention of a resolution in favor of a Crown-owned oil industry should by now have led to government action."

Despite a 50 percent increase in sales by the potash corporations, the government is proposing only a $3 million increase in taxes rather than $10 million which would be in line with the sales increase.

There were some worthwhile reforms in the legislative program — such as the establishment of an independent electoral boundaries commission to remove Liberal gerrymandering, and lowering the age of majority to 18. However the complete inadequacy of the program is bound to lead to growing ferment in the party ranks demanding far-reaching solutions. This will give the Waffle an unprecedented opportunity to pose an alternative program which can rally more party members to the socialist alternative.

Whether the Waffle will be able to galvanize this sentiment remains to be seen. The most recent meeting of the provincial Waffle steering committee refused to support the campaign to repeal the abortion laws and the action proposals of the Prairie antiwar conference.

The Waffle conference to be held Mar. 25-26 in Regina is faced with a big challenge to orient to the developing mass movements and work out an effective program which can give leadership to disillusioned party supporters.

WINTER WORKS PROJECT FOR LAWYERS — Don't be fooled by Trudeau's claim that Canada-U.S. relations have never been friendlier. According to the Halifax Chronicle-Herald, the New Brunswick government and a Texas oil company have spent 3½ months hassling over a legal agreement covering a proposed terminal for supertankers. "Seven lawyers have slaved over the document, which contains 26 pages of legal interpretation of the word 'reasonable'."

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Student Council moves to block YS victory

by Kathy Dalton
Young Socialists campaign manager.

TORONTO, March 7 — Young Socialists, candidates in student election campaigns across Canada, scored a major breakthrough March 2 by being elected by acclamation to the presidential and vice-presidential positions of the Students' Administrative Council (SAC) at the University of Toronto, Canada's largest university.

Elected were Katie Curtin, president, Roger Harper and Yusuf Cajee, vice-presidents.

The Young Socialist acclamation was the signal for an attack from some right-wing elements and the present SAC clique leadership. No fewer than three petitions are now being circulated declaring the election invalid, despite the YS slate's sanction from the official election committee. Ludicrous as it seems, there is even underway an attempt to impeach the slate which doesn't take office until May 1 !

SAC's obstruction tactics are a blatant violation of student democracy; by reserving the right to validate or invalidate the election results, the outgoing SAC leadership arrogates to itself the right to pick and choose its successors.

In accordance with its program for student decision-making, the Young Socialist slate is carrying a big campaign against all attempts to deny it office. The YSers and their supporters immediately moved into action, and have called a mass student meeting to explain their positions and rally support.

VICTORIOUS YOUNG SOCIALISTS address students at University of Toronto. In foreground is Katie Curtin, student president-elect; behind her (from left) Roger Harper and Yusuf Cajee (vice-presidents) and Brian Belfont, York presidential candidate.

In a statement published March 3 in The Varsity, the student newspaper, YS president-elect Katie Curtin stated: "We ran to take our program to students and that is exactly what we plan to do. We want to build a student council that will mobilize students to change this university and society. The key point of the Young Socialist program is student-faculty control . . . We ran on a program of organizing against the U.S. war machine and breaking this campus from it. We want a student council that campaigns for women's rights . . .

"We are going to use all the democratic procedures to institute our program in the traditions of the parity, day care and Dow struggles.

We are out to get a real mandate by taking every major issue that affects this campus to the students."

Meanwhile, at York University, a United Left Slate, initiated by the Young Socialists, is making a strong bid for the student government in the elections to be held March 8-9.

Included in the slate are the Women's Liberation group, the antiwar committee, Students for a Free Greece, many Waffle supporters and other groups and individuals. Young Socialist member Brian Belfont is the slate's presidential candidate.

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Labor Challenge expansion drive

Help us raise $21,000 by May 1

by Kate Alderdice
fund drive co-ordinator

Labor Challenge has to grow. We've greatly improved (if we do say so) but we've outgrown our present format.

The editors have recently had to drop a number of important articles because there just wasn't enough space in our eight pages for all the news and analyses our writers produce. Over the past two months alone, we have had to hold back reviews of some of the current women's liberation books, like Juliet Mitchell's Women's Estate, a feature on the Allende government in Chile, analyses of various aspects of Canadian nationalism, articles on foreign aid, the courts and the legal system and the native people's struggle to defend and develop their reserves.

In order to bring you items like these, we have to expand to 12 pages each issue. But that costs money.

Last year we asked Labor Challenge readers for $16,000 in our 1971 spring fund drive. You gave us more than $17,000.

Just think of the value you got for that investment: We put out eight special 12-page issues during the past year, in response to the growing pace of political developments. We put out special election supplements calling for NDP victories in the Saskatchewan and Ontario provincial elections. That was on top of our regular biweekly news and analyses of the struggle for abortion law repeal, the antiwar movement — all the movements for social change in Canada and around the world.

Labor Challenge is a unique instrument for activists. Where else can you find consistent reporting and analysis of the truth behind Nixon's lies about the war in Vietnam? Or the real story about the woman who was prevented by court injunction from getting an abortion? Or the recent sensational developments in the Quebec labor movement?

This year we're asking for a **minimum** of $21,000 to increase the size of Labor Challenge by half again.

Won't you help? Labor Challenge depends entirely on the donations of our readers to keep publishing and to expand.

The drive is already well underway. Vancouver readers have promised to raise $6,200 towards the goal. Toronto readers have pledged $11,200!

Use the coupon below to send in your donation so that we can make $21,000 by May 1.

We're cramped for space. Help us expand to a 12-page paper.

Enclosed is ..... as a contribution to the campaign to make Labor Challenge a 12-page biweekly.

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Fight attack on NDP's Waffle group!

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Readers pledge $22,300 for 12-page paper

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Women unite for abortion law repeal

by Lis Angus

WINNIPEG — The first cross-Canada conference on abortion law repeal, held here March 18-19, united the repeal movement into one cross-country organization, the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws.

The almost 250 women who attended the conference came from groups from Newfoundland to British Columbia. They represented 47 different organizations, including 23 abortion law repeal groups and coalitions.

The rapid advance of the movement was expressed by Linda Blackwood of the Ontario Coalition in presenting the proposal for a Canada-wide organization. "It was just six months ago that we formed provincial coalitions in our areas," Blackwood said. "And here we are today having organized the very successful actions Nov. 20 and with the results already of 10 victorious campus referendums — a solid indication that in response to that powerful, organized opposition to us, there is a widespread sentiment, a majority sentiment, in favor of abortion law repeal."

The conference adopted an impressive lineup of activities.

May 1-6 was designated as Petition Action Week: a week of local educational activities focusing around the cross-country petition for repeal, and culminating in demonstrations at provincial legislatures on May 6.

Delegates adopted a goal of 75,000 signatures for the first stage of the petition campaign; these are to be gathered by May 6 and presented to the provincial governments. The petitions will be presented to the federal government by a cross-country delegation on Mother's Day weekend, May 13-14.

The list of speakers at the conference indicates

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At Winnipeg conference for abortion law repeal.

photo by Karen Hicks

...ov't workers mobilize

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12,000 Quebec civil servants rally in support of strike action. In foreground, leaders of trade union united front: Yvon Charbonneau of teachers union, Marcel Pepin of CNTU and Louis Laberge of QFL. See page 4.

Ray Haynes, secretary-treasurer of B.C. Federation of Labor, urges meeting of 3,000 teachers and provincial government workers to join with trade unions in campaign to defeat Social Credit government. See page 5.

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the breadth of the coalitions among them were Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church of Canada; Joyce Meissenheimer, official delegate of the B.C. ndp executive; Eleanor Pelrine, author of the book Abortion in Canada; June Menzies, speaking for both the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women and the National Council of Women; Suzy Naylor of the Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation' Joan Newigging of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Scoialiste Ouvriere; and Ann Gray, Metro Toronto YWCA.

There were greetings to the conference from abortion law repeal coalitions in eight provinces, and telegrams of support from the New Zealand Abortion Law Reform Association, the B.C. Young New Democrats and the Vancouver NDP area conference. Nancy Rolf of the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) addressed the Winnipeg conference. NDP MP Grace MacInnes sent greetings to the conference.

A basic theme of the conference was "Every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child" — the opposition to state-enforced motherhood that is so basic to the abortion law repeal campaign. Women alone must have the right to decide whether or not we will bear children.

The formation of a cross-country coalition is a significant milestone in the fight against Trudeau and his government's anti-woman policies. The united forces of this broad coalition will be able to carry forward the movement with far greater strength and effectiveness than before. As Mary Trew of the Vancouver City College Abortion Committee said, "This conference is our answer to Trudeau."

Abortion law repeal will be a major issue in the federal election expected this year. The conference decided to organize a campaign of activities around the election, including the launching of the second stage of the petition campaign — to pressure each candidate to identify with and actively support the campaign for repeal and to publicize the Trudeau government's inaction on this issue.

The conference called for such ongoing activities as referendums, defense of victims of restrictive abortion laws, etc., all actions which in the opinion of local coalitions further the aims of the repeal movement. In this spirit, the conference sent a telegram of support to Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal doctor who goes on trial March 23 on charges of performing, and conspiring to perform, illegal abortions.

To coordinate these activities, it was decided to set up a cross-country coordinating committee with a central office in Toronto. Lorna Grant, staff coordinator of the Ontario Women for Abortion Law Repeal was unanimously elected executive secretary. Grant recently toured the country to publicize the campaign against the Ontario anti-abortion injunction and to build the Winnipeg conference.

The conference decided to launch a cross-country newspaper to build the abortion campaign. This paper will be a vital aid, not only by equipping activists with the information and arguments they need to carry out the activities of the campaign, but by educating and convincing people presently outside the movement and bringing them to the campaign.

It was decided on the first morning of the conference, following a discussion, that workshops and plenary sessions should be open only to women. Delegates felt that since the abortion issue affects women most directly, women have the right to make strategy decisions for the campaign on their own, while actively seeking the support of men for the campaign.

Joyce Meissenheimer commented that when a man had been proposed as the B.C. NDP delegate to the conference, another man got up and said pointedly "If there's any man here who needs an abortion, then that man should be the delegate."

The 26 workshops held during the weekend saw lively discussion and sharing of experiences and ideas as the women considered in detail such aspects of the campaign as fund-raising, publicity, campus and high-school organizing, and how to meet the attacks of anti-abortion forces, etc.

There were a wine-and-cheese party, music and dancing, and the women's liberation songs of Rita MacNeil. Some $1,600 was raised to cover expenses and launch the new coalition in a surprise auction of sections of the criminal code that we want repealed.

The conference was an impressive demonstration of how much the repeal movement has advanced in recent months. The enthusiasm, determination and ability of the delegates promise to make this campaign a powerful challenge to the Trudeau government, the Catholic Church and all the enemies of our right to control our bodies and our lives.

...Abortion conference

photo by Karen Hicks

LORNA GRANT, elected executive secretary of new abortion coalition, auctions off sections of Criminal Code that illegalize abortion. Conference raised $1,600 on the spot to launch abortion law repeal campaign.

Fourth Int'l backs actions on abortion

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a call March 6 for international solidarity actions with the May 6 U.S. demonstrations for women's right to abortion called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

"In response to an appeal for international support to this campaign, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the week of actions and the May 6 mass demonstrations sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition," the Fourth International declared.

The theme of the U.S. abortion actions, the statement notes, will be "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose."

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From the editors:

Defend democracy within the NDP!

The Ontario NDP leaders are on the campaign trail. Against the Tories in Queen's Park, or the Liberals at Ottawa? Not quite: their target is the NDP's left-wing "Waffle" group — and ultimately, democracy in the party.

Stephen Lewis led off the attack in his keynote speech to more than 200 delegates at a provincial council meeting in Oshawa March 18. Lewis charged the Waffle with the same "crime" that has been charged against every left opposition to the party leadership's liberal-reformist policies. The Waffle, he claimed, constitutes "a party within the party."

A majority of the council agreed, voting by 157 to 62 for a resolution expressing "grave anxiety. . .at the emergence of a distinct group within the party. . .with structures and policies separate and different from those of the party."

The charge is absurd and hypocritical. The Waffle's meetings are open to all NDP members who wish to attend — while the right wing cliques who control the party meet secretly and frequently foist policies on the party that conflict with the program as defined by the membership in convention.

The attack on the Waffle has one clear objective. Lewis and the party leadership are challenging the democratic right of party members to organize to spread their viewpoint within the party. They are attempting to suppress minority views in the NDP.

Our least conflict with the Waffle, says Lewis, is in the area of ideology. By presenting the differences as essentially organizational, Lewis hopes to avoid a discussion of the Waffle's views.

But he took care to red-bait the Waffle as providing "a forum for extremists like Maoists and Trotskyists, whose views are not dissent but destruction, not ideological but pathological."

The destructive force, however, is the Lewis leadership with its witch-hunt response to critics within the party. Repeated purges which all but destroyed the party's youth organization provide more-than-ample evidence of their demoralizing effect on the party membership, undermining the NDP's credibility as a party of principle and progress.

The council authorized the executive "to prepare a statement outlining the responsibilities and obligations of members to the Party." (Nothing about the rights of members to hold dissenting views!) It thereby armed the executive for an offensive against the Waffle in the riding associations and affiliated trade union locals.

Will they succeed? Despite his strenuous efforts to paint the Waffle as some sort of threat to the NDP, Lewis had to try equally hard to minimize the group's support within the party ranks. Party members are fed up with the Waffle, he claimed, and want the leadership to move against its supporters.

But provincial party president Gordon Vichert reported that no

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fewer than 30 riding associations had sent in resolutions on the Waffle; and the 12 he read to the meeting all opposed the Hamilton Mountain resolution calling for suppression of the Waffle and similar organized left groupings in the party.

The suppression of the Waffle would be a major setback for the entire left. By giving the right-wing leadership of the NDP virtually uncontested control of the party, it would stifle internal debate and close off the party as a viable arena for radical activity for a whole period to come.

The right wing's strategy is to terrorize Waffle supporters, hoping they will bend to the pressure and dissolve the Waffle, or leave the party altogether — or to provoke some elements within the Waffle into a witch-hunt against those with revolutionary socialist views in a vain attempt to demonstrate their own innocence to the right wing.

The Waffle must not capitulate to such pressures. Waffle supporters across the country must organize emergency meetings to plan strategy for a united defense campaign.

And not just Waffle supporters — but all in the NDP who support the struggle for internal party democracy — must campaign for the right of NDP members to organize for their views inside the party.

The party membership must be mobilized in the riding associations, in the union locals, to turn back and defeat this vicious assault on minority views.

Ernest Mandel barred from West Germany

Ernest Mandel, internationally-famed Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the world Trotskyist movement, was barred from West Germany Feb. 28. Mandel, who had been nominated to fill the vacant chair in "social politics" at West Berlin's Free University by its economics department, was denied his appointment by the West Berlin Senate on Feb. 22.

The Senate clearly admitted that Mandel's academic and scholarly qualifications were beyond challenge and that he was being excluded on the basis of his political ideas.

Students at the Free University organized a protest rally against the university decision attended by over 2,000 people in West Berlin. Mandel was prevented from getting to the Berlin rally by the Federal Republic whose officials stopped Mandel at the Frankfurt airport and confronted him with the ban — not only from West Berlin but from all of the Federal Republic. Government officials revealed that the ban had been requested by the West Berlin Senate.

Widespread protests from academic and labor circles in West Germany against the ban have already been heard. The youth movements of both the German Social Democratic Party of Chancellor Willy Brandt and the Free Democratic Party have protested. Margherita von Brentano, a vice-president of the Berlin Free University resigned her position in protest.

Mandel, also banned from France, Switzerland and the United States, toured Canadian universities in December and recently spent a week lecturing in Mexico City at the invitation of the Autonomous National University of Mexico. Excelsior, Mexico's main newspaper, gave front page and editorial coverage throughout Mandel's lectures to the importance of his ideas. The lectures were attended by several thousand people.

labor Challenge

Vancouver NDP backs full slate

VANCOUVER — The March 19 conference of the Vancouver NDP voted overwhelmingly to adopt "the principle of a full slate" for the December civic election. The vote came after a heated and extended discussion on the recommendation which came from the Vancouver Area Council executive.

Supporters of the motion stressed over and over that this was the only way to build a serious and united working class alternative to the present big business administration of millionaire real estater, Tom Campbell.

Opponents of the executive's full slate motion were sparse, but vocal. Harry Winrob, arguing in support of submerging the NDP into a "broad coalition" of civic groups as proposed by Committee of Progressive Electors alderman Harry Rankin recently in a letter circulated to several hundred individuals in Vancouver, tried to scare delegates into voting down the full slate recommendation with the red-baiting claim that it would be "capitulating to a minority in the NDP known as the Trotskyites who are trying to divide the working class."

He was greeted with universal protest and when the chairman, VAC president Brian Campbell, cautioned Winrob to restrain his remarks applause swept the hall. In the final vote only eight among the approximately 90 participants voted against the full slate motion.

Following the adoption of his proposal, a motion was passed to send a public letter to Alderman Rankin inviting him to join the NDP and to send letters to all active radical city groups urging their members to join the NDP and "participate in the struggle to win city hall for the working class of this city."

The executive was then instructed to set up the approrpriate committees, begin immediately to seek candidates and begin to raise funds.

The conference also sent a telegram of solidarity to the Abortion Action Conference meeting at the same time in Winnipeg, supported the April 22 antiwar protest and agreed to organize a building action for it, and adopted a demand for free and more complete bus transit in Vancouver instead of the proposed "third crossing."

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Young Socialists win campus polls

by Don Tapscott

The recent Young Socialist student election campaigns across the country have had a powerful impact on the Canadian student movement. The YS ran over 70 candidates in 13 centers, and on three campuses York, Trent, and the University of Toronto, socialist slates were elected.

The touchstone of the YS campaigns was the concept of student-faculty control. The candidates explained through their leaflets, posters, and public debates how the students and faculty must wrestle the university out of the hands of the giant corporations, and design it to serve the majority of people.

The YS campaigns helped to build the student wing of the movement for repeal of the abortion laws, the movement against the War in Southeast Asia as well as the movement against the cutbacks in education spending.

photo by Jeff White

BRYAN BELFONT. Young Socialist heads United Left Slate at York University in Toronto.

At Trent University in Peterborough presidential candidate. Sue Genge was elected along with a majority of her slate to the newly established Trent Student Union.

At York University in Toronto, six members of the United Left Slate, headed by YSer Bryan Belfont, were elected to the student council. Belfont lost the presidential election by 39 votes although he won overwhelmingly in every college on campus except one, Atkinson College.

The United Left Slate mounted a campaign for a new election on the basis of irregularities in the voting at Atkinson — multiple voting, open ballot boxes, etc. Within three days they had held a mass meeting and collected 1,600 names on a petition. Confronted with this powerful student opposition, the York student council reversed a previous ruling and set a new election for March 22-23. Belfont may well win this time.

At the U of T the outgoing Students Administrative Council mobilized against the acclamation of the YS slate and after a long series of maneuvers to overrule the election results, called a referendum. Student vote split fairly equally between three alternatives — upholding the YS acclamation, calling an immediate election or calling a fall election. The YS acclamation received over 1,100 votes.

A new election has been called and members of the YS are attempting to organize a united left slate to meet the liberal and rightwing attack with even more force.

labor Challenge

Labor Challenge expansion drive

Readers pledge over $22,000

by Kate Alderdice
fund drive coordinator

With the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive in its third week, we already have enough money promised to put us over the top. Last issue we asked our readers for a minimum of $21,000. Your pledges to date total $22,300!

This is by far the largest amount ever raised by our readers to support Labor Challenge. But money pledged is not the same as cash in the bank, and there are only five weeks remaining in the drive to make Labor Challenge a 12-page paper.

Labor Challenge has something to offer that no other paper has. Our paper is written by activists, for activists. We're right in the thick of the struggles of women, Quebecois, native people and working people against their oppression. We're part of the movement against the Indochina war and U.S. domination of Canada, and the fight to put the NDP in power.

Not only does Labor Challenge tell you what is going on in these movements, we also provide activists with an analysis and a strategy to win.

But perhaps what is most unique about Labor Challenge is its tradition. We trace our origins back to the revolutionary paper Workers World, first published 50 years ago in August, 1921. Its first issue carried articles defending the new revolutionary regime in the Soviet Union, on the unemployment crisis, and the question of trade union and political organization for the working class — the big political questions facing the working people of Canada in 1921. It was Workers World that carried the campaign in the 1920s for the formation of a mass workers party.

WORKERS' WORLD

First issue of Workers World August 17, 1921.

The Vanguard, organ of the International Left Opposition in Canada, also forms an important part of our heritage. Its first issue, published 40 years ago in November 1932, greeted the fifteenth anniversary of soviet power in the USSR. It exposed the crimes of the Stalinist regime and issued a call to Canadian revolutionaires to organize against the betrayal of the Bolshevik revolution.

THE VANGUARD
Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada
Hail 15 Years of Soviet Power!
CIVIC ELECTION
AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

First issue of Vanguard November 1932.

Increasing the size of Labor Challenge by one-half, from eight to 12 pages, will make us more able than ever before to carry forward our revolutionary traditions. That's what the fund drive is for.

So help yourself. Make your contribution to the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive today, and we'll send you facsimile copies of the first issues of Workers World and the Vanguard.

Scoreboard

Area	Pledged
Vancouver	$6,200
Edmonton	1,000
Saskatoon	300
Winnipeg	250
Kitchener-Waterloo	100
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Sudbury	300
Orillia	150
North Metro Toronto-Richmond Hill	1,000
West Toronto	5,300
East Toronto	6,100
Ottawa	200
Atlantic Provinces	250
General	850
TOTAL	**22,300**

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April 2: THE NECESSITY OF A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM Class Leader Ian Angus
Readings: First talk from The Role of the Transitional Program in the Revolutionary Process by George Novack. Articles by Pierre Frank and George Novack in Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism.

April 9: THE ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS Class Leader: Kate Alderdice
Readings: Second and Third talks from The Role of the Transitional Program in the Revolutionary Process. "Backward Countries and the Program of Transitional Demands", pages 40-42 of The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International. Democracy + Rev. Defense Principles. 1946 Fourth Intl. Ernest Ge

April 16: SPECIAL APPLICATIONS OF THE TRANSITIONAL APPROACH: THE YOUTH AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS Class Leader: Brenda Dineen
Readings: "Feminism and the Struggle for Abortion Law Repeal", by Joan Newbigging (Labor Challenge, Jan. 31, 1972). The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International. A Socialist Strategy for Women's Liberation (1970 LSA Convention resolution)

April 23: THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND THE QUEBEC NATIONAL STRUGGLE
Class Leader: Phil Courneyeur
Readings: For an Independent and Socialist Quebec. Quebec Nationalism: Its Roots and Meaning, by Arthur Young.

April 26, 1972

TO ALL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, BRANCH ORGANIZERS AND BRANCH TREASURERS

FINANCIAL REPORT TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Dear comrades,

For some time now the central office of the LSA/LSO has not only been increasing its indebtedness but has been running a steady deficit, which we have managed to meet. However, recently this deficit has reached the level of $688 a month--far too high for us to live with. We must take measures to cutback this deficit immediately.

Where did the deficit come from? For some thime now, the income of the CO, which is almost exclusively dues and pledges from the branches, has remained fixed at just over $900/ month. At the same time, our expenditures have increased slowly but steadily, and the CO has had to meet some emergency unbudgeted expenses.

While the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive has been very successful, and a big victory for the movement, it won't make a dent in the deficit. It will simply cover the cost of the new 12-page paper.

Our expenditures are very modest, in face of the political opportunities before us. We are holding the line on our international contribution (now at the rate of $250/month). Our office is a very modest operation--no possiblitlity of cutting back there. We have regretfully frozen our publication program and have cut travelling allowances to the bone.

We may not be able to wipe out this deficit by cutting cost substantially, but there are measures we can take. If we are able to carry through with these measures in the next period we will be able to cutback our running deficit and give real operational and financial flexability to the central office to meet the challenges and oportunities ahead.

These are the measures adopted by the Financial Commission and the Political Committee to deal with this situation:

1. In all departments of the movement across the country we are instituting a freeze on the hiring of any new staff for the present period.

2. We want to increase the income of the Central Office from the branches across the country, particularly from Toronto and Vancouver, where the greatest financial resources are. At the conclusion of the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive, branch executives should meet to discuss ways that their branch can increase its monthly pledge to the CO--particularly by raising money outside the movement on a monthly basis.

3. We will attempt to refinance some Central Office loans with large, interest free loans.

4. We will increase the price of Labor Challenge to 25¢ per copy and $4 for a one-year subscription.

(over)

These measures we estimate will produce an additional income of $686/month for the Central Office, cutting back the deficit.

Comradely,

Kate Alderdice
Financial Director
LSA/LSO

labor Challenge

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Stop U.S. assault on Vietnamese
Canadian protests tell Nixon

by The Editors

Prime Minister Trudeau will welcome President Nixon to Ottawa April 13-15 with all the pomp and circumstance of a state visit. Speeches by the two government heads will highlight cliches about the "unguarded border." Newspapers across Canada and the U.S. will feature pictures of Nixon and his junior partner shaking hands at various functions.

The Nixon-Trudeau talks are expected to include discussions of U.S. control of Canadian industry, the auto pact, energy resources, and great lakes pollution. The visit is designed to have the maximum advantage for Nixon and Trudeau in their respective election campaigns.

But the foreign guest is actually the world's foremost war criminal — the man who bears responsibility for the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent Indochinese and the deaths of tens of thousands of American soldiers. The Canadian antiwar movement is mobilizing to confront Nixon with his crimes against humanity.

Massive bombing

The setting for Nixon's Ottawa visit is the launching April 3 of a massive bombing attack by the U.S. against what is said to be an invasion from North Vietnam into the northern provinces of South Vietnam. The U.S. has carried devastating B-52 strikes into North Vietnam.

Only a day before the bombing attacks, U.S. officials stated that they were leaving the operation in the hands of Saigon troops: "It's a South Vietnamese operation now and we're going to leave it to them."

But the next day the U.S. mounted a huge bombing assault to try to offset the collapse of the puppet Saigon army, whose troops are fleeing in shambles before the advance of the liberation forces.

The U.S. command made 250 fighter-bombers available on April 3, and promised more. Meanwhile all the aircraft carriers the U.S. has in the Pacific have been stationed off the coast to saturate the area with bombardment.

The purpose of all this deployment of forces? "To protect U.S. lives" is the excuse offered by the U.S. command in Saigon.

The hypocritical excuse of launching a murderous attack, one of the heaviest of the war, to "save lives" is already familiar to opponents of the war. This was President Lyndon Johnson's argument for the first bombings of North Vietnam. This was Nixon's excuse for sending American troops into Cambodia in May, 1970. It has been Nixon's tried and true excuse for every successive escalation of the air war.

Fraud of 'Vietnamization'

If Nixon is really concerned with saving American lives, why doesn't he get all his forces out of there? Of if by some stretch of the imagination, Nixon is concerned with Indochinese lives, then why not stop the bombing and military operations that are causing an average of 300 Indochinese deaths a day?

That the U.S. would intervene on such a massive scale on April 3 shows the fraud of Nixon's claim that he is "winding down" the war. In fact his policy of "Vietnamization" — progressively turning over more and more of the ground war to the Saigon army — is shown to be a dismal failure. U.S. troops, 95,000 at last count, are being kept in Indochina as an excuse for massive U.S. intervention at the least sign of instability.

It is clear that the Saigon army is only maintaining its shaky morale thanks to overwhelming U.S. airpower and the continued presence of U.S. troops. Nixon's aim, no matter how he may try to obscure it, is to continue the war to victory, crushing resistance throughout Indochina, and ultimately rolling back the North Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions.

But Nixon has been unable to vanquish the Indochinese liberation forces. And at home he is confronted with a powerful antiwar

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Women's right to decide: discrimination in reverse?

by Kate Alderdice

The first cross-Canada abortion law repeal conference which took place in Winnipeg March 18-19 was an important victory for women's struggles in this country. It drew together those women who had begun to fight against the abortion laws into a united Canada-wide movement.

The 250 women from eight provinces who attended this founding conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws represented the thousands of women who have been attracted to the repeal movement in the last few months.

Most of these women are participating in their first struggle for women's rights and are raising many basic questions about the position of women in society and how to organize for change.

One of the most important questions raised at the conference was whether or not to limit the conference to women only. After a long discussion the conference voted overwhelmingly to proceed as a women's conference. Later it voted unanimously to make the new Canadian Coalition a women's coalition.

What is behind this issue? Why should women alone decide the policy for this movement?

All women are directly affected by the anti-abortion laws. It is they who suffer and often die at the hands of illegal abortionists, they who are forced to bear unwanted children, and to raise them. But more than that, the right to abortion — to decide if and when to become a mother — is an issue which strikes at the most profound conditions of a woman's life in this society. Wife and mother — for years this has been the definition of a woman's role.

photo by Karen Hicks

Winnipeg conference for abortion law repeal.

The possibility of being able to control her own body, and therefore to be able to make decisions about her own life, opens up whole new vistas in the life of a woman.

Women have everything at stake in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws. Not only do we stand to gain the right to control pregnancy, but many other issues hang in the balance. Through this big struggle women are learning of the strength they have when they unite in action for common aims. This strength will enable women to go on to tackle the many other ways which they are oppressed.

A women-only abortion law repeal movement can do more than just

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change the laws. It can change the way that women think of themselves. For years women have had to take second place everywhere. Now, in a movement organized and led by women, they can begin to realize their full potential as human beings, with the collective strength of a women's movement to back them up.

Pat Grimstead, from the Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation and the Ontario Coalition, expressed this sentiment. She told of how she had been working for women's rights alongside men in the church for many years, and that she found it "very difficult to continue this battle." She continued, "I came here to gain strength from you women; I came here to get love and I know I need love. I just want to be with you women because here is where we get the strength to go on."

Those women at the conference who challenged the women-only policy raised four main points: that in limiting the coalitions and conferences to women, we are guilty of discriminating against men; that we are making the movement smaller and weaker than it might otherwise be; and that instead of confronting women's oppression, we are simply running away from it when we exclude men from these gatherings.

Are women discriminating against men by excluding them from policy discussions? Joyce Meissenheimer, delegate to the conference from the B.C. New Democratic Party, replied to this charge by comparing the situation of women to that of native people.

"Consider," she said, "that when a group of Indians decide to have a conference to discuss their problems as Indians, nobody takes exception to their excluding non-Indians from their gathering. They have to discuss and find their own answers to their problems as Indians." The same applies to women. In meeting together to discuss an issue of such importance to women as abortion, women are not oppressing men; they are liberating themselves.

Does this mean that men have no role to play in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws? Far from it! Men can play a very important role in supporting and helping to build the campaign, circulating the abortion law repeal petition, taking part in public meetings and demonstrations, and many other ways.

But the policy and strategy of the movement must be determined in the women's coalitions and conferences.

Is it true that the abortion law repeal movement is small and weak without men? Just the opposite is the case! The power of this united movement has drawn thousands of new women to it in its short lifetime. Joan Newbigging, of the League for Socialist Action, pointed out this achievement of the movement. "Just look what we've done! In only six short months, women organizing independently have built the abortion law repeal movement into a mass movement with a profound impact on political life in this country."

One delegate expressed the opinion that women are "in big trouble" if they are "afraid" to have men present. But as Mary Trew from the Vancouver City College abortion repeal group pointed out, women are in big trouble in this society. "Women are excluded from many areas in our society, and as a result there are many talents and skills we have never developed," she said. "Through this movement we can develop as leaders, organizers, spokeswomen."

Both CBC and the Winnipeg papers interviewed the conference organizers about the women-only policy, which they strongly opposed. The fact that the conference was put under considerable pressure to admit men is certainly no accident.

Lorna Grant, who was elected by the conference as the executive secretary of the new Canadian Women's Coalition, pointed this out in the discussion. "At any other gathering of 'ladies'," she said, "men wouldn't even be interested in coming. That interest is there now because women have made abortion law repeal the most important issue in Canada."

The conference was the first opportunity for many women to feel the unity and sisterhood of women fighting for the right to decide for themselves about their bodies and their lives. From the discussions came a feeling of the strength of thousands of women organized to fight on the most important issue facing women in Canada today. It was, as one delegate put it, "an opportunity for us to act together in solidarity, dignity, and pride."

photo by Karen Hicks

MARY TREW argues that the abortion repeal conference should be open to women only.

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photo by

FOR ABORTION LAW REPEAL. Women from across Canada demonstrated in Ottawa Nov. 20

Int'l abortion campaign

Abortion Petition Week May 1-

by Lis Angus

The projections of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws founding conference March 18-19 were quickly acted upon by the Ontario Coalition at its April 1 meeting.

The meeting of 40 women from half a dozen cities in the province mapped out projections for Abortion Petition Action Week May 1-6. They decided to hold a rally at the provincial legislature on May 6 to present a. brief to the provincial government and to announce their success in reaching their aim of 35,000 signatures on the petition in support of the repeal bill of federal MP Grace MacInnis.

In the week leading up to May 6 they projected a number of activities to take place in local areas. These activities will largely center around the petition. One idea projected at the meeting was to have tag days for abortion repeal. Another was to set up petition tables in shopping plazas and to petition inside high schools.

The conference elected Gwen Taylor co-ordinator of the Ontario Coalition and adopted a quota of $100 a month to send to the Canadian Coalition.

All seventeen Canadian campuses which held referendums on the question of abortion law repeal last month voted in favor of removing all references to abortion from the Criminal Code. Over half of the 17 campuses polled more than 75 percent in favor of repeal, ranging as high as 96 percent.

Campus women campaigning for a "yes" vote in the referendums postered and leafleted the campuses, organized debates and panels on abortion, carried information booths and literature tables, and petitioned in support of the MacInnis bill for repeal. At the University of Victoria, one third of the students signed the petition during the referendum campaign. This ambitious campaign brought about an 80 percent "yes" vote there.

The "right to life" forces also organized for the referendums. They leafleted many campuses with picture of the deformed babies in garbage bags — supposedly the results of one day's abortions in a hospital. They carried meetings in dormitories and participated in debates. And yet on every campus they were soundly defeated.

Around the world the international campaign for safe, legal abortion is growing. Thousands of women and men marched in Australia March 11 in support of safe, legal abortion on request, and free safe contraceptives, as well as demands for child care, equal pay and educational opportunities. Four cities held protests with the largest ones taking place in Sydney and Melbourne; 2,500 took part in Sydney, 1,500 in Melbourne.

In Switzerland this winter 60,000 signatures were collected on a petition asking that "there shall be no penalty for interruption of pregnancy." Under Swiss law, if at least 50,000 people sign such a petition, the government is obliged to submit the proposal to a popular referendum, although the vote may be delayed for up to three years.

In New Zealand two influential professional groups — the Psychiatrists Association and the New Zealand Medical Association — have recently come out in favor of abortion law reform. The Medical Association has committed itself to a widespread publicity campaign against the New Zealand abortion laws which make women who have illegal abortions liable to up to 14 years imprisonment.

The East German parliament passed legislation March 9 making abortion on demand available to women through the twelfth week of pregnancy. All abortions will be paid for under the social security system.

The United Nations population division issued a report March 19 that showed abortion, when performed in proper conditions, is considerably safer than pregnancy. It also concluded that abortion may be the single most widely used method of birth control in the world.

The report cautiously concludes that it may be the illegality of abortion that makes it dangerous, not the operation itself. It cites statistics from countries around the world to show that the number of deaths from abortion is in direct proportion to the degree to which abortion is legal.

"The risks of induced abortion," the report states, "may not be great in a general population of women where legal measures have to a large extent replaced criminal abortions and where abortions are performed under acceptable medical conditions."

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Oppose Lewis smear attack on Waffle left

by John Steele

In last year's federal NDP leadership contest, Waffle candidate Jim Laxer received over one-third of the delegates' votes in a final ballot against David Lewis. The convention climaxed a vigorous debate in the party press, the mass media and in crowded meetings across the country in which Laxer had counterposed the Waffle's radical and nationalist anti-capitalist program for the NDP to the liberal reform program of the labor bureaucracy upheld by David Lewis.

Almost one year later at the March 18 meeting of the Ontario NDP provincial council, the NDP leadership ruled this momentous and historic debate out of order. In a vicious red-baiting attack, Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis, with the full agreement of the NDP top brass, charged the Waffle with polarizing the party, destroying party solidarity, creating "enormous internal strains" and opening the doors to "Trotskyists and Maoists" because it was a "party within a party."

The provincial executive was instructed to bring back a report on membership responsibilities to the June provincial council meeting that would outlaw organized caucuses within the NDP.

The "party within a party" charge is not new. It has been used time and time again by the NDP brass to imply that its critics are splitters of the party. You can think what you want, says Stephen Lewis. But don't organize to present your views to the membership. Don't challenge the party leadership. If you do you will be publicly tried and found guilty of trying to destroy the party.

The leadership is out to ban organized opposition — opposition that has the strength and resources to present its views effectively — so that it can be free to use the party machinery to perpetuate its rule unchallenged.

The last time the NDP leadership launched an attack of this kind against organized opposition was in 1967. The provincial executive expelled 12 New Democrats because it had "good reason to believe that each of them is either a member or supporter of another political party." The expelled were supporters of the Socialist Caucus, the forerunner of the Waffle.

When they were not permitted to take their case to the party ranks the expelled initiated a Committee to Defend the Expelled to campaign for the defense of party democracy. The committee organized public meetings, co-ordinated resolutions for constituencies and published a pamphlet "Stop Expulsions in the NDP" which was circulated across the country.

STEPHEN LEWIS. Worried about Waffle.

The introduction to the pamphlet laid the issue out to NDP members: "If we value our democratic rights and traditions, then we have an obligation to defend the rights of minorities within the party to express their views freely whether they be socialist, right wing or middle of the road. Freedom to organize as a caucus around programmatic issues is the best means of arriving at a policy at convention that meets the needs of the Canadian people."

The 1967 expulsions were no aberrations. Attacks on the rights of minorities within the party, those with socialist views, have marked the history of the CCF-NDP. In 1963, 12 socialists were expelled from the ONDP by the same right-wing leadership.

When the Socialist Caucus was formed in 1965 NDP leader T.C. Douglas slandered it as a bunch of "screwballs" — paving the way for a threatening, red-baiting attack on the caucus by the Ontario party newspaper, the New Democrat entitled "Canada's Screwball Left — the Trotskyites."

The formation of the Waffle in 1969 signified the failure of the leadership to outlaw minority views. The big issues posed by the current radicalization could not be buried in the back room deals and secret caucuses of the leadership. The earlier struggles of socialists to maintain democracy within the party played a big role in making this development possible.

The leadership didn't change its view in face of the Waffle. Wedded to a program of capitalist reform they have been most consistent in their drive to turn the NDP from a vital movement of working class political action and debate into a passive election machine in the image of the boss parties. The "solidarity" Lewis wants is the silent unity of a monolithic dues-paying machine behind his reformist program.

The profound sympathy for the Waffle in the party ranks is also a deep sentiment for democracy within the party. It goes far beyond the active Waffle supporters. This latest and most far-reaching drive to outlaw the right of organized dissent within the NDP can be stopped if this sentiment is mobilized. The credibility of the NDP as a democratic alternative to the big business parties in the coming election is also at stake.

New Democrats in the constituencies and the affiliated union locals are challenged to respond to Lewis' attack. The Waffle has a key role to play in initiating a broad public campaign to defend democracy in the NDP.

From the editors:

Stop the harassment of Cuban diplomats!

The Montreal police invasion of the Cuban Trade Mission immediately on the heels of the April 4 bombing which killed Sergio Perez, a Cuban guard, constitutes an outrageous provocation of the Cuban government and a violation of Cuban diplomatic immunity in this country.

The charging of six Cuban officials adds insult to injury.

The people of Canada and Quebec will roundly condemn the CIA-inspired gusano bombing by Cuban exiles. But what can be said of Canadian authorities? As Fidel Castro stated in a speech to the Young Communist League in Havana the next day, Cuba showed "a great deal of patience. . .First the (bombing) attack and on top of that police aggression."

Castro reported to the Cuban people that "our comrades were beaten by the Canadian police at the police station" and that the police used "brutal and fascist methods" in carrying out their raid on the mission. This information about the Montreal cops, notorious for their brutality against nationalists and socialists, will come as no surprise to the Quebecois.

Such outrages as the gusano bombing and the police invasion of Cuba's mission are inspired by Washington's relentless and vicious attempts to blockade Cuba and to bring the Cuban revolution to its knees.

Cuba remains in constant danger and needs vigorous world wide solidarity.

Canada must immediately repudiate the actions of the Montreal police. All charges against Cuban representatives must be dropped.

Hands Off Cuba!

NO JUSTICE FOR IRELAND UNDER DIRECT RULE. Most of Northern Ireland's 900 political prisoners will not gain freedom under the British government's newly-improved direct rule. The hopes of the Irish for peace and justice will not be realized so long as the causes of their plight remain — British imperialist domination, unemployment, oppression of the Catholic community.

labor **Challenge**

Editor: DICK FIDLER
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

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LC #53

From the editors:

NDP and native rights

Recent conflicts between native people and the NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan should alarm New Democrats and all supporters of human rights.

In Manitoba, Premier Edward Schreyer has rejected native demands that Joseph Borowski be expelled from the NDP caucus and resign his seat in the legislature. Borowski, a reactionary populist parading under the label of the NDP, had launched a racist attack on the president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Dave Courchene, charging him with misuse of government funds and demanding an investigation into Brotherhood finances.

In Saskatchewan, three Metis women, one of them a secretary of the Metis Housing Group, complained to the NDP government that they were refused service by a Saskatoon hotel owner, who told them "I will not be serving your people here. . .any more." Attorney-General Roy Romanow acknowledged (in a letter to the hotel owner) that "the said complaint is fully justified," but declined to prosecute "due to your past record of non-discrimination."

The women have asked the Saskatchewan Human Rights Association to pursue the matter. "All three of us feel this case should not be dropped."

Dead right. Not only must it not be dropped — but the full letter of the law must be brought to bear against this and all such instances of racism and discrimination.

Racist practices are to be expected from big business governments upholding the same interests which have murdered and robbed the native peoples and subjected them to degrading poverty and humiliation.

But an NDP government must be different — completely different. The NDP must fully identify with all the struggles, all the demands, of oppressed peoples, demonstrating through quick and exemplary action the socialist alternative to capitalist racism and injustice.

Native organizations have advanced the demand for their own courts, police and laws. They want the power to control their own communities. Instead of having to appeal to some department of white-dominated government, natives should be able to prosecute and win full redress against racist injustices, whether by innkeepers or MLAs, through their own institutions vested with full authority. These institutions should be chosen by the native people themselves and controlled by them.

Rather than Schreyer's aloof inaction, Romanow's bureaucratic indifference, the NDP governments must respond to these demands — and thereby strike powerful blows against racism in Canada.

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What strategy for a French Quebec
In defence of French unilingualism

(From Labor Challenge *April 1972)*
by Colleen Levis

The following article (originally titled "In defense of nationalism and the struggle for unilingualism") is taken from the French language Trotskyist paper Libération*. It answers several attacks on the mass movement in Quebec for a French Quebec — a movement to defend the national language against the present tendency of attrition and destruction.*

The (Canadian --ed.) Communist party denounces the movement for a French Quebec, the unilingual movement, as the "battle cry of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie" and accuses it of "dividing the working class according to nationality."

Colleen Levis, the author of this article, is the organizer of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Montreal which has played a leading role in building the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Française. Levis wrote the article, as she explains, as a reply to Sam Walsh of the Communist party (in Quebec --ed.).

Walsh has since answered Levis' article with yet another diatribe against the Quebec language movement. Walsh spends the whole of this second article in a sterile attempt to fit together six quotes from Lenin, torn out of their literal and historical context, to show that Lenin too would have opposed the demand for French unilingualism. In our next issue Labor Challenge *will take up Walsh's distortions of Lenin's position.*

The references Levis makes to Bill 63 and Bill 28 may not be understood in English Canada. Bill 63, passed in 1969 by the Quebec government, guaranteed in law the right to school education in either French or English. As predicted by the nationalist movement, the Bill speeded up the process of assimilation into English in Quebec, especially on the part of immigrants.

Bill 28, a law to reform the Montreal school system and to implement Bill 63 in Montreal, was recently withdrawn by the Quebec government after massive protest.

The important decisions on the national question taken at the recent convention of the Quebec Federation of Labor are a part of the leftward turn in the labor movement toward mass struggles. The radicalization of the Quebec workers is shown by a more pronounced nationalism.

Among the organizations of the left only the Communist party of Quebec sees something dangerous and reactionary for the working class in these decisions. In the December 10, 1971 issue of *Combat*, the paper reflecting the viewpoint of the Communist party of Quebec (PCQ), Sam Walsh attacks nationalism and the struggle for French unilingualism.

Discrimination

The position taken by the QFL in favor of French unilingualism, a position put forward for a long time by the Trotskyist movement, is according to Walsh of the PCQ "the other side of me coin of discrimination and coercion. The fact that the Trotskyites have adopted unilingualism as their own demand, a very dangerously nationalist one, is a measure of their opportunism, wanting to make nationalists out of internationalist workers instead of the contrary." It is the Canadian capitalist system and not the Trotskyists which has created Québécois nationalism. In any case for real Marxists there is no contradiction between the nationalism of an oppressed nation and working class internationalism.

In another article in that issue of *Combat*, the PCQ explains its support of Bill 28. It criticizes from the right the amendment of the Parti Québécois which, according to the PCQ, "risk dividing the working class even further..." The Communist party is even more moderate on the language question than the Parti Québécois!

"The struggle for the survival and the growth of the national language of French Canadians must not be waged by denying the English-speaking minority, whatever its ethnic origin, the freedom to use its language and the right to education in the language of its choice."

This is not a statement of the Canadian government to a meeting of anglophones nor a statement of Bourassa. This is a statement of a party which calls itself "communist." In fact, in reading the PCQ solution to what it calls the "delicate linguistic problem," it is very difficult to distinguish it from the solution proposed by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

The article claims that the linguistic policy of the PCQ is "neither bilingualism nor unilingualism," although the PCQ is in favor of Bill 28 just as it was in favor of Bill 63 in 1969. In reality this is a policy which goes completely in the direction of protecting the privileges of the English-speaking population. Rejecting French unilingualism in Quebec can only lead to English unilingualism.

English privileged language

All the studies show a clear tendency towards the total assimilation of the French-speaking Québécois. All the statistics prove that, given free choice, the Anglophones *(English-speakers),* the immigrants and more and more even the Francophones *(French-speakers),* choose English. This is because English is the privileged language in Quebec. It is the language of those who oppress the Quebec nation, that is to say the English-Canadian and American capitalists. Those who do not speak English have limited chances of advancement and most often receive lower wages.

The article in *Combat* cites Lenin in order to justify the rotten policy of the PCQ. What a slander against Lenin and the Russian revolution of 1917! Lenin, like Trotsky, was in 1922 among the most steadfast in affirming that the one hundred national minorities in

Russia needed real self-determination. He took a position against Stalin's policy on the Georgian *(national –ed.)* question.

On December 31, 1922 Lenin wrote, "Internationalism on the part of oppressors or 'great' nations as they are called ... must consist not only of the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation..."

Lenin would have said that for Quebec we should not demand equality for the French language but inequality for the English language in order to restore French to its rightful place.

One cannot speak abstractly of the equality of two unequal languages. English, the dominant language, is based on conquered rights — on the conquest of the Québécois nation — and not on the so-called "acquired rights of the minority." The English language, the language of the majority in North America, has no need of protection. It is the language of the oppressed Québécois nation which must be protected by laws.

Is it the struggle for French unilingualism which divides the workers? The PCQ talks about a false and illusory unity which will disappear with the first offensive of the bourgeoisie. Unity is built in struggle and not by way of compromises. Moralists and pacifists look for policies which will please everyone and will change nothing. All struggles create divisions.

Whether a strike, a campaign for the right to abortion or even a revolution, the result of any struggle is a polarization even among the workers. Is it necessary to end a strike in a factory, if 10 or 15 percent of the workers oppose it, on the pretext that the strike divides the working class? Is it necessary to curb the majority of the class which goes into struggle and subjugate it to the most backward, most privileged or most prejudiced elements?

The language struggle at St. Leonard *(around the question of the language of instruction in a secondary school in a Montreal suburb with a largely Italian immigrant population --ed.)* was not abstract. The PCQ fiercely attacked the Francophones because they had not succeeded in winning the support of all the non-Francophones. The Francophones, according to the PCQ, had to abandon their struggle to defend their language in the name of "unity." There are still a large number of American workers who, against their own interests, support the war in Indochina, even actively. But that does not mean it is not necessary to build the antiwar movement.

Unity

Socialism will not be built with abstract appeals for "unity"; socialism will be built through concrete struggles of the most oppressed sectors of capitalist society.

The PCQ invokes the call for "unity" against the revolutionary dynamic of the mass

struggles in order to hide its Stalinist, counter-revolutionary and passive politics. The Communist party does not develop a program for Quebec which serves the needs of the Québécois, utilizing the method of scientific Marxism, but one which suits above all the interests of the conservative bureaucracy in the USSR.

The Russian revolution has been betrayed by Stalinism. The right of oppressed nations to self-determination has been reversed by the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR. In spite of the warnings of Lenin on this question before his death, the Stalinist course won against the left opposition led by Trotsky and inspired by the traditions of Lenin. In order to maintain their privileged positions, Stalin and his heirs developed a strategy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, seeking to uphold the status quo.

We see the total lack of solidarity of the USSR with the revolutionary nationalist struggles around the world. Kosygin's visit to Canada and his statements are an example. For him, national oppression exists neither in the USSR nor here. He never breathed so much as a word on the national oppression of the Québécois. He spoke often of Canada as a "nation strong and united."

The "internationalism" which the PCQ speaks about has nothing to do with proletarian internationalism. True internationalists must support unconditionally the just struggles of oppressed nations. It is hypocritical for those who uncritically supported the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the USSR to speak of internationalism. The Québécois workers who are nationalists identify with the struggle against oppression around the world — in Bangladesh, in Ireland, in the United States, the women's struggle, and the struggle in the colonial countries. We can best develop an internationalist consciousness through our own concrete experiences.

Those in Quebec who recognize neither the double oppression of Francophone workers nor the importance of the struggle to defend the national language will hardly be capable of recognizing the necessity of socialism.

Debate on Canadian unions
The struggle for autonomy

(From Labor Challenge April 1972)

by Ron Haywood *(perhaps a pseudonym for R.D. --web editors)*

Should Canadian workers split from the international unions and strike out on their own with independent "national" unions? Or can they win autonomy — independent policies, full control over structures, and election of all officers within Canada — within the framework of the Internationals?

This long-standing debate in the labor movement is based on two interlocked and interacting — and healthy — sentiments. One is an awareness by Canadian workers of the lack of democratic principles and procedures within their own local and union. It poses the question of who should control the unions — the brass or the rank and file.

The other is a Canadian nationalist sentiment, expressing distrust and repugnance toward American imperialism — its aims and objectives, its mouthpieces like Nixon and its tools like AFL-CIO president George Meany.

In a recent exchange in the *Toronto Star*, Ed Finn, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers noted that the debate on Canadian union autonomy "is a reflection in miniature of the broader debate now raging over Canada's uncertain future as an independent nation.

"One's point of view," he argued, "depends on whether one is a nationalist or an apologist for the American takeover... If Canadians choose to resist the American engulfment, a self-governing labor movement will have to be one of our top priorities."

Arguing against Finn, Murray Cotterill, Canadian public relations director of the United Steelworkers of America, claimed that Canadian workers can already be independent within the Internationals. "While U.S. unionists have been doggedly supporting their sons in Vietnam, Canadians in the same unions have been condemning the conflict... While U.S. union leaders have been pushing 'free enterprise' and the 'two party' system, Canadian leaders of the same unions ... support a third pro-labor party."

Arguing for conflicting positions, both Finn and Cotterill had to relate their key arguments to the growing nationalist consciousness among Canadian workers. Increasingly, Canadians see the United States as a violent, racist and huckster society. When 60,000 workers in B.C. downed their tools in protest against Nixon's Amchitka nuclear blast last fall they demonstrated the deep-rooted revulsion Canadian workers feel toward the U.S. government and its policies.

Concern about U.S. domination of Canada's economy, educational institutions and cultural life fuel the sentiment and call into question the unique relationship between Canadian unionists and the U.S.-based international unions to which a majority of organized workers adhere.

Many trade unionists ask why we should tolerate a relationship which permits the American trade union brass to arbitrarily slap trusteeship over dissident Canadian locals or sabotage strikes (as in the recent case of UAW workers at Douglas Aircraft). Why, many ask, should we continue to be identified organizationally with heavy-handed American bureaucrats like Meany, who extols Nixon's policies in Vietnam, boasts of never having walked a picket line, condemns strikes and often supports binding arbitration of labor disputes.

Historically, Canadian and American workers have been linked organizationally, and in common struggles, for more than a century. These links flowed logically out of the logic of the North American market, its domination in both countries by the same big corporations. Moreover, it made sense to Canadian workers to invite the larger and more powerful Internationals in to help organize.

Cotterill notes that Canadians in Internationals have won "higher wages, lower hours and better pensions... in less time, with less personal sacrifice and with lower dues" than they would have unassisted by their U.S. brothers. Would Canadian auto workers presently have wage parity with their U.S. counterparts without the efforts of the International UAW?

The current wave of union organizing among government employees, and in Quebec, had largely bypassed the Internationals, however. While the membership of international unions in Canada increased only 8.7 percent between 1965 and 1970, membership in Canadian unions jumped 163 percent — from 198,000 to 521,000.

Influence declining

But although the numerical influence of the Internationals is declining in the Canadian labor movement, there are some who want to see an end to it altogether. International unions, they claim, can't possibly defend Canadian workers.

Ed Finn, for instance, points to U.S. unions' support of protectionist legislation which could result in a decline in Canadian manufacturing exports to the U.S. and Canadian jobs. "The fact is," he writes, "that the same unions cannot logically or equitably represent workers in two contiguous countries in times of economic stress. Looking at this obvious conflict of interest, Canadian members of international unions must now ask themselves whether the benefits of their U.S. affiliation still outweigh the disadvantages."

Finn is saying that when capitalist states have inter-imperialist conflicts over markets, jobs, etc. — then international solidarity between workers becomes impossible. What he does is identify and tie the interests of workers in different countries with the interests of their capitalist class. Does this mean that the brass of the Canadian Labor Congress should now opt for Canadian protectionist policies? Should Canadian workers get caught up in a "buy Canadian first" campaign? Who are our allies — Canadian capitalists or American workers?

Workers have no interest in supporting "their" government in time of either economic stress or boom. Rather, workers' interests lie in international class solidarity and the forging of effective

fighting instruments to defend and advance their common cause. This unity can be forged either through national unions or international unions.

Bureaucracy

The obstacle to real **internationalism** — and this is the question both Finn and Cotterill duck — is the narrow and class-collaborationist viewpoint of the bureaucrats who control the apparatus of both "national" and "international" unions and who identify with the interests of their national state. Suspended between the ranks and the boss, the privileged bureaucrats with their fat paycheques reject a strategy of mobilizing workers in class struggle against the corporations and the capitalist state in favor of efforts to mediate and channel the disputes that arise through skillful backroom negotiations. Pressure from the ranks to make the unions more democratic and combative instruments of the class struggle is balanced against pressure from the capitalist state to co-opt the unions.

Leon Trotsky wrote more than 30 years ago of the tendency of the unions to "grow together" with the state apparatus. It is still true today that "the labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensible they are in peacetime and especially in time of war."

Witness Meany's support of the war in Vietnam and CLC president MacDonald's sharp attacks on Quebec nationalism.

=====BEGIN BOX=====

Photo caption: DOUGLAS AIRCRAFT WORKERS on strike last fall against the U.S.-based company’s attempt to keep their wages in line with Nixon’s wage controls. When local rejected proposed settlement, International UWA forced an end to strike by cutting off strike benefits.

====END BOX ===

Lacking a clear understanding of the nature of the labor bureaucracy, some partisans of uniquely Canadian unions have been guilty of the very class collaborationist policies that rank-and-file militants are trying to escape in supporting a break from the bureaucratic Internationals. Many of the same voices which are raised in indignant protest when an international union imposes trusteeship on a Canadian local were mute when the federal government imposed trusteeship ovver the Seafarers International Union in 1963.

Prominent elements in the business and political establishment, such as the *Toronto Star*, the pro-capitalist Committee for an Independent Canada, and former Finance minister Walter Gordon, also call for independent Canadian unions. There is even a small body of dissident trade unionists, grouped in the Canadian Council of Unions, which has made a principle and vocation out of attempting to break Canadian workers from the Internationals and establish all-Canadian unions.

Many of these elements argue as if the international unions had ceased to be workers' organizations, and were now akin to the imperialist corporations that plunder Canadian resources and labor. They have been aided in this by the Canadian government, which annually, through the Corporations and Labor Unions Returns Act (CALURA), amasses figures designed to show that unions, like corporations, are responsible for a net outflow of funds to the United States.

Are unions 'imperialist'?

CALURA figures are incomplete and distort the relationship between Canadian and American workers by depicting it in simple cash terms.

In any case, what is wrong with Canadian workers' dues going to the U.S.? When the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) launched an organizing drive in U.S. southern states they used some dues from Canadian woodworkers. That drive organized workers and blocked an employer move to non-union runaway shops. Should Canadian IWA members object?

What is crucial is union democracy, which will enable the rank and file to make the unions into militant instruments of class struggle. Workers must have the right to determine which union will represent them — and further, the leadership, the policies and the structure of that union.

Under the pressure of this nationalist and democratic sentiment, the 1970 convention of the Canadian Labor Congress which speaks for the vast bulk of the Internationals in Canada, adopted far-reaching proposals for autonomy. These called for election of Canadian officers by Canadians, policies on Canadian affairs to be decided by elected Canadian officers or by the Canadian membership, and urged international unions to amend their constitutions where they forbid their Canadian affiliates from taking part in partisan politics.

In addition, a reform caucus of delegates at the convention had put forward such proposals as Canadian offices, Canadian' policy conferences, provision of more services in Canada, an end to head office vetoes on collective agreements negotiated in Canada and the right for Canadian affiliates to merge with other unions in Canada without having to wait for the parent unions to merge in the United States.

Indications are that more Canadian workers will push for autonomy — in or outside the Internationals. The Newspaper Guild is currently conducting hearings to determine whether to establish a Canadian national office. And recently postal and telephone workers in Canadian unions signed a "mutual assistance pact" with the 4,000-member Canadian Communication Workers Council, an AFL-CIO affiliate.

A struggle for autonomy and union democracy will coincide with the development, within the U.S., of a struggle by rank and file militants for union democracy and a class struggle strategy. Links of international solidarity between Canadian and American workers will strengthen us both.

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Vol. 3, No. 8 (54) APRIL 24, 1972

Status of women conference debates strategy

Build mass protests to stop Nixon's Vietnam escalation

photo by Wendy Johnson

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS CONFRONT NIXON. Ottawa April 15. Protests around the world are growing in face of new U.S. escalation of Indochina bombing.

by George Addison

As Nixon wound up his visit to Ottawa April 15, he ordered a massive new escalation of the war. U.S. planes bombed Hanoi and Haiphong for the first time since 1968, creating extensive damage to residential and industrial areas, and hitting four Soviet ships in Haiphong harbor.

Nixon's bombing attacks on North Vietnam began on April 6, with the only restrictions on the bombing being those imposed by the weather. Nixon's new assault comes as part of a massive attack on all parts of Vietnam, in a desperate attempt to shore up the forces of the Saigon regime.

Trying to make the victim appear to be the criminal, Nixon has blamed the heightened war on North Vietnam, which he says, has invaded the South. Nixon hides the fact that Vietnam is one country and the only "invaders" are the U.S. forces.

Nixon's hypocritical claims were backed up by his chief supporters, Edward Heath of Britain and Pierre Trudeau of Canada. Heath called Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam an "understandable reaction." Trudeau said the war issue "never came up" during his secret talks with Nixon. Trudeau refused NDP leader David Lewis' demand in Parliament that he seek an assurance that Nixon would not use nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy is in shambles. Any belief that the Saigon puppet regime, troops could handle the liberation forces was shattered by a series of military defeats throughout South Vietnam. Nixon is just barely holding together the Saigon ranks with massive airpower and U.S. ground

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General strike challenges Bourassa

APRIL 18 — As the general strike of some 200,000 public sector workers entered its second week, thousands of strikers demonstrated outside the national assembly building in Quebec City today.

The demonstration took place within hours of the Bourassa government's latest "take-it-or-leave-it" offer — a paltry wage increase of between 5.3 and 6 percent a year in a three-year contract.

The biggest strike in Canadian history has closed schools, courts, liquor stores and government operations. Pickets are patrolling outside hundreds of hospitals and public institutions across Quebec.

The decision to launch a general strike of indefinite duration was announced jointly by the leaders of the Common Front following four days of information meetings throughout the province. The 11,000 regional delegates made it clear that the membership considered another 24-hour general strike like March 28 to be an insufficient response to the Liberal government's arrogant refusal to make any important concessions. Negotiations with the government were broken off April 5.

The Common Front unites all public service workers in the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Teachers' Corporation (CEQ), and the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ).

As the unlimited general strike began April 11, the 6,000 Protestant teachers in Montreal, most of them English-speaking, joined in. The Catholic teachers in Montreal had been the only major group to vote against general strike in the March balloting. But the Globe and Mail reported that by the second day, "the number of Montreal Catholic schools shut down increased by the hour as the bands of pickets roamed from school to school, forcing non-striking teachers to leave their posts."

With virtually all government operations except the provincial police shut down, the capital city looked to some as it had under the War Measures. "The strike has given the appearance of a government in exile," the Globe's Quebec correspondent noted, "and created a situation reminiscent of that during the October kidnap crisis of 1970."

The mass media is full of scare stories about hospital patients lying untended at death's door — "psychological terrorism," in the words of the FTQ's president Louis Laberge — to justify the large number of injunctions being issued against the strikers. The Front Commun leaders have instructed strikers to ignore injunctions and the unions themselves have taken measures to maintain "vital services" affecting human life, as

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Editorials

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Behind the Nixon visit to Ottawa

We don't know the content of Trudeau's talks with Nixon. They were secret, and Trudeau isn't telling the Canadian people.

But the primary purpose of Nixon's visit to Ottawa is clear — to reaffirm conspicuously to Canadians and the world the long-standing "special relationship" between Washington and Ottawa.

The powerful growing anti-imperialist sentiment in Canada has aroused considerable unease in high places south of the border. On the eve of Nixon's arrival, the New York Times spoke of "surging anti-United States feeling."

Of course, the Trudeau government has done its best to discount this sentiment. At the height of last fall's balance of payments crisis, when thousands of Canadians were preparing to demonstrate against Nixon's Amchitka nuclear blast, the federal Trade and Commerce minister flew to San Francisco to reassure a gathering of top-level U.S. businessmen that Canada was still safe for the American dollar.

"Do not adjust your sets," Jean-Luc Pepin told the tycoons. Whatever tensions there were between Canada and the United States as a result of the latter's new protectionism, it was only a pause for station identification.

Trudeau put the stamp of highest authority on such statements in his pilgrimage to Washington last December. Now Nixon has added his ratification — and in doing so, expressed the confidence of the U.S. ruling class that Trudeau, facing an election this year, is the man to keep Canada safe for U.S. investments.

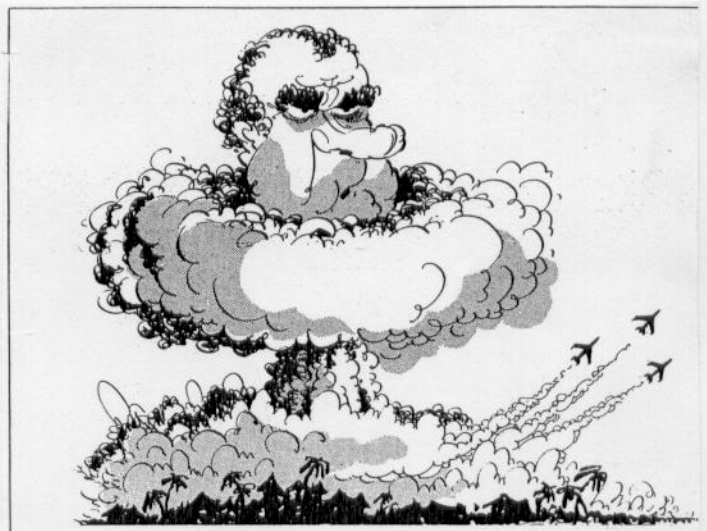
"We respect the separate identity, the right to pursue its own way that the people of Canada desire for their own destiny," the head of world imperialism obligingly told his hosts.

And, indeed, why should U.S. imperialism begrudge Canada the appearance of sovereignty, within the framework of established inter-imperialist ties? It is precisely due to Ottawa's special relationship to Washington — distinct political structures, but a shared and identical commitment to defending capitalist interests in North America and around the world — that Trudeau and previous Canadian governments have performed extremely useful services for U.S. imperialism.

This is particularly so in foreign policy, which Trudeau acknowledges was a major topic of discussion. Nixon came to Ottawa mid-way between trips to Peking and Moscow and his attempts to arrange a deal with the Chinese and Soviet bureaucrats at the expense of the Indochinese revolution. Canada has already played an important role in these maneuvers in recognizing China. It has a consistent record as an accomplice for U.S. aggression in Vietnam, through its membership in the International Control Commission.

What new "contribution" did Trudeau agree to make? A new diplomatic offensive aimed at pressuring the Vietnamese to abandon their heroic resistance? A commitment of Canadian armed forces to help police Indochina in the event of U.S. diplomatic victory? We don't know — yet.

But whatever was discussed and decided at Ottawa, we can be sure that Trudeau's record of supine subservience with the aggressive aims and actions of Wall Street and Washington will continue. That's what Nixon's visit was designed to acknowledge.



"Let me make myself perfectly clear. I will continue to bomb North Vietnam as long as they keep shooting back at our planes."

labor Challenge #54 Apr 1972

Status of women conference

Women opt for independent action

by Kate Alderdice

The largest cross-country women's rights conference yet to take place in Canada was held April 7-9 in Toronto. The "Strategies for Change" conference organized by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women brought together women from every province and from every point of view — from the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and supporters of the Liberal and Tory parties, to feminists and socialists.

The conference organizers, headed by Laura Sabia, had high hopes for the conference. They got a grant of $15,000 from the federal government to finance it. They invited all the most prominent Canadian women and they invited Trudeau and Health Minister Munroe to a banquet to kick off the affair.

And they made sure that controversial issues would be swept under the rug. While workshops were organized on many issues there was not one workshop set aside for discussion of action to make the government repeal the abortion laws.

But, while the conference was seen by its organizers as an opportunity to channel the growing discontent of women into safe, pro-government outlets, it burst out of this narrow framework.

The 600 women overwhelmingly rejected a proposal pushed by Laura Sabia to establish a government-funded council on the status of women which would in many ways supersede the National Action Committee.

"Abortion repeal became the "non-issue that kept coming up." The lie of Florence Bird's opening address on the "progress" the government has made in putting the Royal Commission recommendations into effect was laid bare when one woman asked "But they haven't done anything to make abortion legal — when are they going to repeal the laws?"

LAURA SABIA — "We are not without friends in government circles."

Bird was forced to admit there was no immediate prospect of the government even reforming the anti-abortion laws.

Workshop after workshop ended up discussing this pressing issue and a number brought forward recommendations for action on abortion. The abortion issue was also raised by the Alliance for Life which was not only allowed delegate status but was publicly welcomed by Sabia.

But the abortion issue exploded onto the conference floor in a debate over a proposal from the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition that the conference adjourn Saturday evening to take part in a demonstration against Trudeau.

There was widespread sympathy with the motion even though most of the participants had never been on a demonstration in their lives. Trudeau had turned down an invitation to speak to the conference saying that he was "too busy" — only to show up in Toronto to address the all-male meeting of the press club. The conference organizers moved to squelch the discussion on the demonstration but were forced to call a vote on it. In spite of vicious attacks on it, one quarter of the delegates voted to adjourn to demonstrate against the prime minister, and about 40 walked out of the conference to demonstrate.

The conference as a whole voted overwhelmingly for resolutions endorsing the abortion law repeal petition being circulated by the Canadian Women's Coalition, and calling for abortion and birth control education in the schools, and the establishment of clinics to perform abortions.

It was above all the attempt by the conference organizers to sweep the abortion issue under the rug that created a real discontent among the delegates about the way the conference was being run.

This discontent was expressed not only in the debates on the floor and the positive response to the representatives of the abortion repeal coalition, but also in the formation on the second day of the conference of a "radical caucus", a group of about 60 women. This group expressed their frustration with the Sabia leadership's efforts to keep the lid on the conference. They were concerned about the attempts to tie the women's movement to the government via the council proposal and about the exclusion of the abortion issue.

But this group was unable to unite in an effective opposition and ended up presenting a statement calling for the serving of "natural foods" at women's conferences and situating them in less posh surroundings.

Sabia's strategy suffered a real setback, when the conference overwhelmingly rejected her government council proposal. This big victory was lamented by many representatives of the status quo as being the conference's downfall.

According to Helen Worthington, columnist for the Toronto Daily Star, this failure showed that women are biologically incapable of uniting! She writes: "The con-

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vention seemed to prove the theory of Lionel Tiger's book, Men in Groups, which contends that men have gained power by bonding together while women are biologically and historically unused to this technique."

Adrienne Clarkson, the well-known television personality and author also presents the rejection of this proposal as the biggest error of the conference. But she attributes it to our ignorance rather than our biology. In a column in the Globe and Mail entitled "Do Women Require an Ottawa Voice?" she laments the distrust in the government that she sensed on the part of many delegates.

Brenda Dineen of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws put forward another view when she spoke at the conference: "We don't want a government council because it is this very government which is responsible for our second-class status," she said. "They aren't going to help us unless we unite to force them to do it. Trudeau has made this clear above all by his callous stand on abortion.

"Our strength lies in our independent action," she concluded. The majority of the participants agreed.

Another proposal to divert the women's movement — the proposal to field non-partisan women's candidates in the upcoming federal election — also failed to win the support of the delegates. While this proposal, put forward by the Women's Political Action Movement, at first seemed logical to many women because women are so totally excluded from political action, it soon became clear that it posed no effective strategy for political action.

Those who put it forward thought that women could unite regardless of program and political affiliations simply on the basis of being women. They rejected not only the parties of the status quo but also the New Democratic Party. And they failed to see the importance of independent mass action such as the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws.

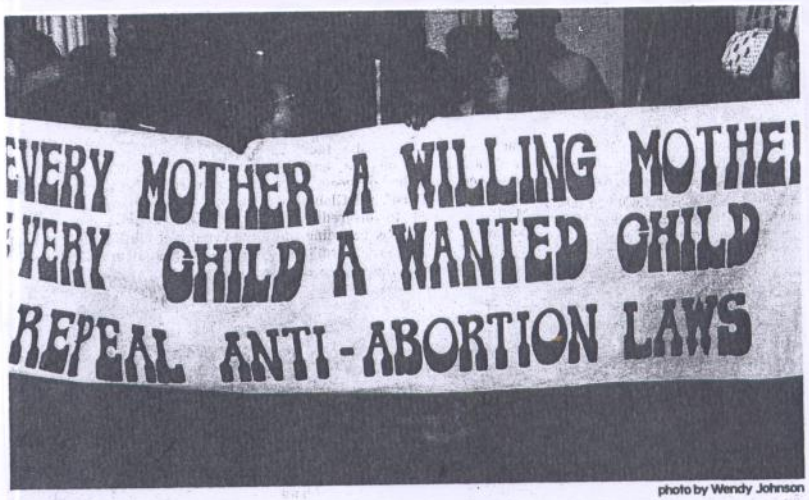


photo by Wendy Johnson

WOMEN AGAINST TRUDEAU. Led by the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition, women from the conference protested the government's indifference to the needs of women. Debate over the demonstration dominated the conference.

An alternative approach to political action was presented to the conference by the League for Socialist Action. The LSA, which stirred up much interest in socialist ideas through its literature table and the interventions of its delegates issued a statement calling on women to enter the political arena. It called on women to confront all the candidates on women's rights, and particularly on the issue of abortion law repeal. It also called on women to support and become candidates for the one party which stands firmly for repeal of the abortion laws, and has a full program of women's rights, the New Democratic Party.

"The NDP is able to represent the interests of women in this way," the statement points out, "Because, unlike the big business parties of the Liberals and Tories, it depends for its support on all those who are fighting to win their full rights — working people, students and women."

Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, spoke on the campaign of her organization to make abortion law repeal the biggest issue in the election and encouraged all women to join in this form of political action.

And those delegates already strongly committed to the Liberal or Tory parties also opposed the "independent women's candidates" proposal. Thus, what promised to be one of the biggest questions of debate became a non-issue by the end of the conference.

The conference failed to show just how far women can go when they unite to win their rights because the one issue that has shown its power to unite women — the issue of abortion law repeal — was for that very reason pushed aside time and again by the conference organizers. But it did show the clear anti-government dynamic of the growing movement of women demanding full status as human beings. In spite of all the efforts of the most articulate female opponents of the feminist movement the conference rejected the safe, pro-government channels in favor of independent action for women's rights.

Abortion coalition launches newspaper

by Linda Blackwood

"Spokeswoman is a brand new paper! It is written and produced for you — all of you working to build the abortion law repeal campaign, or think you might want to work in it, or just want to keep in touch," says the ad in the April-May issue of the publication of the recently formed Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

This new voice for the cross country movement for a woman's right to safe, legal abortion demonstrates that this movement is fast becoming powerful political force in this country. The editorial sets out to tell readers just what the repeal movement stands for: "Above all we stand for life." It attacks the hypocritical stand of the opponents of the repeal movement who pretent to be concerned about human life and it challenges every Canadian to become involved in the campaign to repeal the laws.

All eight pages of the new paper are packed full of reports, speeches, and actions of the movement. The last page is a poster for May 1-6 Petition Action week and the centerspread features reports and speeches of the recent Winnipeg conference which launched the Canadian Women's Coalition and the Spokeswoman. One of the speeches printed in the Spokeswoman is the statement of Harriet Christie of the United Church of Canada. She explains her organization's stand for repeal and states:

"Our belief in the worth of persons, in the right to full life, in the capacity of women to make responsible decisions, leads us to join you in urging the Canadian government to remove all reference to abortion from the Criminal Code..."

The paper reports on the international movement for the right to abortion, on the recent victory of 17 abortion repeal referendums held on campuses in Canada, and on the upcoming May 1-6 Petition Action Week. It reports that over 44,000 Canadians have already signed the repeal petition and expresses optimism about reaching the goal of 75,000 by May 6. The petitions will be presented to the federal government by a delegation from across the country on Mothers Day weekend.

Another article exposes the latest declaration by the latest spokesman for the enemies of women, Ontario coroner David Marshall, who claims that the "Liberalized" abortion laws are creating "a false sense of security" about abortion. He used the death of Valerie Bissessar last September — from an injection of an excessive amount of fluid following an abortion induced with saline solution in the 17th week of pregnancy — to attack the small gains women have made in the struggle for the right to abortion.

But the Spokeswoman exposes the restrictive laws as the guilty party — not the women seeking abortions. It asks why did Valerie Bissessar have to wait until her 17th week of pregnancy before she was cleared by the hospital board for a therapuetic abortion. It says that repeal of the laws is the only effective measure to prevent the deaths of women like Valerie Bissessar.

Spokeswoman offers first class subscriptions for $1 for 7 issues and $2 for 15 issues. The paper also welcomes contributions in the form of articles, pictures, suggestions and cash.

Build May abortion week

The Abortion Petition Action Week called for May 1-6 by the Canadian Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition is an important step in the struggle for women's right to control their own bodies. The widespread sentiment in favor of repealing the laws has been shown time and again. The most recent dramatic demonstration was the overwhelming vote in favor of repeal on the seventeen campuses that held abortion referendums this spring.

But the government has repeatedly shown its unwillingness to respond to this sentiment. Trudeau has used the most blatantly anti-woman justification for up-holding the laws — women aren't responsible enough to decide over their own bodies and must account for their so-called "killing" to responsible members of society. That is, to men — in the government, in the church and in the courts.

The sentiment in favor of removing abortion from the Criminal Code to make it the private decision of the woman involved certainly exists. But since the government won't repeal the laws without a major fight this sentiment must be mobilized into a powerful movement that can force the government to act. The petition in support of the private members bill for repeal and the demonstrations and other activities of the Action Week help to mobilize this sentiment by moving thousands of women into visible action. Support Abortion Petition Week. Demonstrate May 6.

Labor Challenge expansion drive

Need big push to meet goal

by Kate Alderdice
fund drive director

There's just one and a half weeks to go in the drive for a 12 page Labor Challenge. While we've received $12,220, or 54 percent of our total objective, almost half the money is still to come in by the May 1 windup date.

Now is the time. If you get out your cheque book right now, you can put us well over the top by May 1. We can see from the pledges, which are now up to $23,000, that there's a lot of enthusiasm for a 12-page Labor Challenge. The task now is to turn that enthusiasm into hard cash.

How are we going to do it?

There's no way we can count on the Liberal party methods and sources for our funds. The Liberal party expects to spend $5 million on the upcoming election campaign. We're asking you, our readers, for a mere $23,000. Only a few weeks ago, R.G. Rankin, Ontario chairman of Trudeau's election fund-raising campaign, was complaining that the Liberal party has been limping along on the contributions of only 95 major corporations. It's a tough life.

How does Labor Challenge earn its support: The record of our last few issues is enough to answer that question.

On April 3, Nixon launched a massive bombing attack against what he called "an invasion" from North Vietnam. Now U.S. bombers are attacking Hanoi and Haiphong. Labor Challenge warned of new escalations when other papers were talking about how Nixon was winding down the war. It was Labor Challenge that exposed the fraud of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy, long before the latest U.S. aggression made it clear for everyone to see.

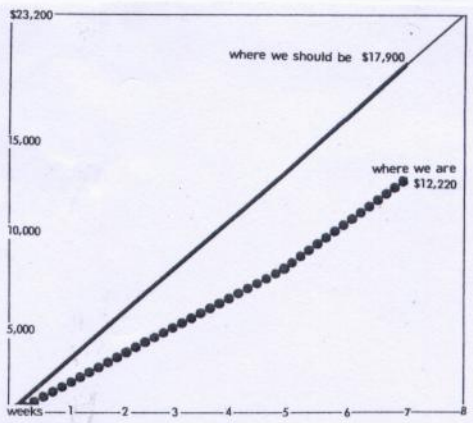
Labor Challenge helped organize and mobilize for the April 15 and 22 demonstrations across Canada to protest the bombings and call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canada's complicity. Labor Challenge did this when the daily press was attacking the antiwar movement in article after article, and when many who had previously defended the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination were making a hasty departure.

No wonder we don't get any support from the big corporations of this country, many of which are making bloated profits from sales of arms and war material to the U.S. war machine. It's their war.

Our supporters and readers — students, working people, antiwar activists and feminists — don't move in those financial circles. In fact their interests are diametrically opposed to the corporate rulers of this country.

Right now only two areas which have pledged money to the drive are on schedule — East Toronto and West Toronto. Five areas which have pledged to the drive — Edmonton, St. Catharines, Hamilton, Ottawa and the Atlantic provinces — have not yet sent in anything. That accounts for a large part of the remaining cross-country quota.

Last Sunday, the Apollo 17 space project was launched at a cost of millions. All we need from you is $23,000 to help build the Labor Challenge space program. So get your cheque in fast.



clip and mail to
Labor Challenge Expansion Drive, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

Enclosed is $100 —— $50 —— $20 —— $10 —— as my contribution to help make Labor Challenge a 12-page biweekly. Send me facsimile copies of Workers World and the Vanguard.

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In defense of Québécois nationalism

A reply to the Communist Party

(From Labor Challenge April 197/2)

by Robert Dumont (R.D.)

"Trotskyite nationalists" is the title of an article by Sam Walsh in the February 16 issue of *Canadian Tribune*, which expresses the views of the Communist party *(Canadian Stalinists –ed.)*

Walsh, president of the Quebec CP, is replying to an article by Colleen Levis in the Quebec revolutionary socialist monthly *Libération* (translated in the previous issue of *Labor Challenge*). Levis explains why the Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes support the struggle for a French Quebec and how the CP, a supporter of federalism goes wrong in its violent hostility to this movement.

"Nationalism and unilingualism," Walsh informs his readers, are "the battle cries of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie." The bulk of his article is a collection of quotations from V.I. Lenin, torn out of context to distort their meaning, in an attempt to "prove" that Lenin — who was largely responsible for formulating the revolutionary Marxist policy on the national question — was in fact an antinationalist, and would have opposed the demand of growing numbers in Quebec, including the trade unions, for French to be made the sole official language. Walsh and the CP would have us believe that Lenin's policy on the national question was in irreconcilable opposition with Trotsky's.

Leon Trotsky, Lenin's closest collaborator in the Russian revolution of 1917, had a quite different assessment. "The national policy of Lenin will find its place among the eternal treasures of mankind," he wrote in his monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*. "Lenin appraised with admirable profundity the revolutionary force inherent in the development of the oppressed nationalities, both in Czarist Russia and throughout the world."

Language rights

A reading of Lenin's works on nationalism, which played a key role in arming the Bolshevik party in the struggle for power in an empire of many nations and nationalities, reveals that the CP's opposition to Québécois nationalism has nothing in common with Leninism — that it is in fact a denial of the revolutionary Marxist view of national struggles upheld by Trotsky and carried forward in Quebec by the LSO and LJS.

Walsh quotes Lenin: " ... Russian Marxists say that there must be **no** compulsory official language ..." and triumphantly concludes: "It takes Trotskyites to dare pretend Lenin could support unilingualism!" In this, Walsh reveals only his own dishonesty.

The quotation is from an essay by Lenin written shortly before the First World War, entitled "Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?" Far from arguing against the demand by oppressed national minorities for official recognition of their language rights, Lenin is polemicizing against "liberals and opportunists" who called for accepting the imposition of Russian as the sole official language in the non-Russian nationalities oppressed by Czarism. These elements argued that

Russian culture was more advanced and that assimilation into the Great Russian culture was historically progressive.

The equivalent to this argument which Lenin is opposing would he the demand that English be made the sole official language in Quebec, on the grounds that English is the predominant language of commercial and cultural intercourse, and is growing in influence! Whatever legal recognition the Québécois have been able to win and maintain for their French language would be abolished.

Lenin fought consistently against such fatalistic capitulation to imperialist domination, and for the right of oppressed nationalities to develop their own schools, culture, courts in their own languages. That is why the second part of the sentence quoted above by Walsh states: "A fundamental law must be introduced in the constitution declaring invalid all privileges of any one nation and all violations of the rights of national minorities."

When Walsh and the CP use Lenin's polemic against making Russian the official language throughout the Czarist empire, in order to argue against the Québécois demand for French unilingualism, they ignore and violate the distinction between oppressor nation (Russian, or English-Canadian) and oppressed nation (Quebec) that is vital to the Marxist concept of self-determination. The result is a purely liberal approach, which substitutes an abstract demand for "equality" of French and English languages in Quebec in the place of the actual living struggle of the Québécois against the inequality of the French language, the constant debasement of their language and culture in an English-dominated society.

The CP rages indignantly against the Trotskyists' support of the mass movement for a single French-language school system. The CP lamented the 1968 victory of the pro-unilingualists in the school board elections in Saint-Léonard, a Montreal suburb, because it deprived Italian immigrant parents, as Walsh puts it "of their right to have their children taught in English, which, unfortunately, is still the language of work in Quebec." The "Trotskyites," he cries, are "dividing the working class according to nationality."

The facts speak otherwise. A year after the 1968 victory of the Ligue pour l'lntegration Scolaire (LIS), the Saint-Léonard school board's decision to phase out English-language instruction was overruled by Bill 63, which protected the English school system. At that time, nearly 25 percent of the municipality's 5,614 elementary students were in "bilingual" (English-French) classes and the rest were in French-language schools.

And what is the record since Bill 63 imposed "bilingualism" on Saint-Léonard? A study released last January showed that 2,258 of the 2,691 immigrant children in Saint-Léonard were enrolled in English-language schools for the 1971-72 academic year. The local Italian-. language weekly, *II Cittadino Canadese*, comments: "This means that within the near future, Saint-Léonard will be a more or less English-speaking municipality, like the west end of Montreal island."

Devastating statistics! Those who are dividing the Italian immigrants from the French-speaking workers who make up 90 percent or more of the Quebec proletariat are not the advocates of a

French school system, but the same "provincial" government which serves so faithfully the interests of the English Canadian and U.S. monopolies that exploit Quebec. The same corporations which — "unfortunately" (Walsh) — impose their language upon the Quebec workers by forcing them to learn and speak a foreign language to earn a living; the same corporations which pressure the immigrants to learn English because it is the language of business. To speak of "free choice" or "equality" of languages in such circumstances is to stand things on their head.

Hostility to nationalism

Behind the CP's opposition to French unilingualism in Quebec is its hostility to Québécois nationalism itself. Here again, Sam Walsh tries to invoke Lenin's authority, but with no greater success.

=====begin BOX ======

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilize every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis..." (V.I. Lenin --ed.)

==========END BOX ======

He recites a string of quotations in which Lenin argues against "bourgeois nationalism." Marxists must avoid getting "bogged down in bourgeois nationalism," Marxists do not condone the striving for privileges on the part of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation, etc., etc.

A diligent researcher can locate many such passages in Lenin's writings, particularly in the pamphlet *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. But here again, the context of the polemic is what's important. Lenin was addressing himself to the particular problem posed in Central and Eastern Europe, just after the turn of the century, where strong nationalist movements led by capitalists — themselves oppressors of subject nationalities within their borders — sought to re-establish privileges they had previously enjoyed before their conquest by neighboring states. Thus, the Russians oppressed the Poles, the Poles the Ukrainians within Poland, and all oppressed the Jews.

But it would be a gross distortion of Lenin's views to make out, as Walsh does, that he saw only that reactionary side of nationalism. Because national movements are historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and the creation of modern capitalist states, was no reason for revolutionary socialists to shy from supporting national demands in nations which had failed to establish full self-government.

"All general democratic demands are bourgeois-democratic demands," Lenin wrote in *The Cadets and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. "But only the anarchists and opportunists can deduce from this that it is not the business of the proletariat to back these demands in the most consistent manner possible."

One such demand is that French, the national language of the Québécois, the use of which is key to their definition as a nation, be made the national language in schools, government and industry — and given strong protection in law against encroachments and degeneration by English. When the CP claims the Québécois movement for French schools is "racist," it makes the victims of national oppression the criminals.

Lenin waged an unceasing struggle against those in the left who refused to support national liberation movements for fear of becoming compromised with bourgeois nationalists.

When Karl Radek slandered the 1916 Irish rebellion as "purely … petty-bourgeois" and "putchist." Lenin responded: "To imagine that social revolution is **conceivable** without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie **with all its prejudices**, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the land-owners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to **repudiate social revolution ...**

"The struggle of the oppressed nations in Europe (we might add, in North America — RD), a struggle capable of going all the way to insurrection and street fighting, capable of breaking down the iron discipline of the army and martial law, will 'sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe' to an infinitely greater degree than a much more developed rebellion in a remote colony ...

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilize every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in a thousand keys the declaration that we are 'opposed' to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a 'putsch,' we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites."

Revolutionary dynamic

Today, in most if not all of the oppressed nations and colonies, the national bourgeoisie is very weak and dependent for whatever privileges it enjoys on its collaboration and complicity with imperialism. The new national liberation movements, based on proletarian and other oppressed layers, have a correspondingly greater impact. To underline this distinction, Lenin proposed to the Second World Congress of the Communist International in 1920 that these non-capitalist-led movements be designated "national-revolutionary" rather than “bourgeois democratic.”

Walsh’s claim that in Quebec "nationalism and unilingualism" are "the battle cries of the French-Canadian petty bourgeoisie," "divisive slogans of the bourgeoisie," is totally false and irrelevant. In reality, the Québécois capitalists violently oppose the struggle for French unilingualism, as does their most nationalist wing, the Parti Québécois. The demand for a French-only school system has drawn a dividing line between left and right wings of the nationalist movement — between those with a consistent anti-imperialist perspective and those

who seek only greater "sovereignty" for Quebec while allowing the imperialist corporations to continue to plunder the nation's natural resources and labor.

The Communist party attacks the Quebec independence movement not because it really sees Quebec nationalism as "bourgeois," but precisely because it fears the revolutionary dynamic of the movement for national liberation. While paying lip service to Quebec's right to self-determination, the CP is wholly committed to maintaining the basic structures of the Canadian state.

Its official program calls for a "freely-negotiated new confederal pact" based on "voluntary equal partnership of the two nations in a binational, sovereign and democratic state." Each nation is accorded "the right to separate if the majority of one or the other nation so desires."

But "self-determination" for English Canada is hardly the issue! By constantly harping on the "danger" of "French Canadians" gaining special "privileges" the CP turns its back on the real living struggle against privileges, the Québécois struggle against oppression by English Canadian business and government.

The CP's support of Canadian federalism, its hostility to Québécois nationalism, flow from its adherence to the counterrevolutionary line of peaceful coexistence with imperialism that is advanced by its Moscow mentors. The Kremlin bureaucrats fear the influence of the rising nationalist and revolutionary struggles around the world in encouraging oppressed nationalities in the USSR to themselves mobilize against their national inequality, to overthrow the ruling bureaucratic caste and establish workers' democracy.

Under the banner of peaceful coexistence, the Communist parties in colonial countries have openly advocated and practiced class collaboration with the national bourgeoisie. So much for Walsh's pretended disavowal of "bourgeois nationalism."

As leading militants in the mass action wing of the movement for a French Quebec, the Trotskyists are boldly and successfully applying the Leninist approach to the national question. They are building the movement that will overthrow capitalist rule in Quebec, and shake the very foundations of capitalist rule in English Canada. In doing so, they are laying the basis for meaningful equality between the workers of Quebec and English Canada.

A reply to the Communist party

In defense of Quebecois nationalism

photo by Arnie Mintz

QUEBECOIS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CONFEDERATION JULY 1, 1971. Nationalist sentiment has mobilized Quebec youth in mass actions which challenge the very structures of Canadian capitalist state. But Sam Walsh of Communist party claims Quebec nationalism is reactionary.

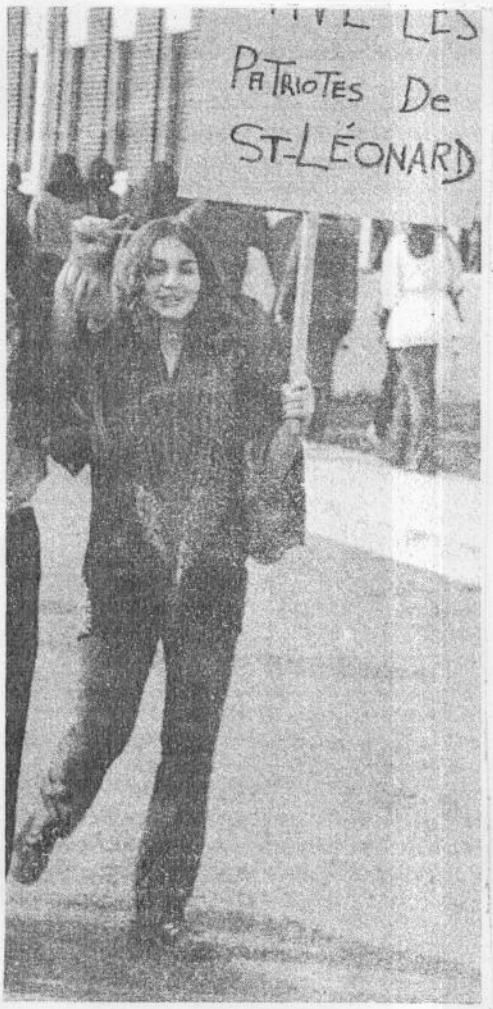

photo by Steve Harding

labor Challenge

1972 Apr #46

LENIN AND TROTSKY. "Lenin appraised with admirable profundity the revolutionary force inherent in the development of the oppressed nationalities," wrote Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the socialist revolution in Russia.

May 19, 1972
334 Queen Street West
Toronto

New York

Dear Bryan

I have been drinking the Drambuie--in fact it is almost all gone--thinking about you and our contract. This week end I will be taking up the project...and start sending you the results--probably in bigger slabs that we had previous thought as I really should get at it and finish it.

I have delayed until now as I have only just got an office set up for myself again. I am more or less ensconced in the old dark room, back of the new Crescent quarters. Of course right now it is stuffed with cartons--the party's archives which I want to put in order and start to work from. But as I see it now--right now--I will take up your project before really getting into that.

I went down to the southern plenum at the last moment--primarily to introduce both Alain and Gary to the southerners. They had a social affair at the Broadway headquarters which of course I went to--although actually few of the ncers did. I was suprised not to see you there. How come! Are they working you too hard?

I also took time out to scan the bookstores on 8th Street along from University Place. Do you know the bookstores along there. There is one excellent one called the 8th street bookstore. Do you go into NY very often. I am wondering what you think of doing a favor for me. There is a book--several copies of it, at that store which I would very much like to have. I first saw it in Vienna--I saw the German edition of it. It is an off size art book--it has now come out in English. Then you go into that 8th street bookstore on the main floor--as you go towrds the back you go down several strlars and in that back part theyshave pretty well concentrated all their art and or illustrated books--all marked down in price. The book I wanted is on the Mexican muralists--concentrating particularly on Diego Rivera--it was either 12.50 or 17.50 I am not sure. At the time it did not matter as I had absolutely no money to buy it any wayxway. The book is probably 10 1/2 by 12 inches. I think that the subject will lead you to the right book as there are very few books on this question. When you see it you will immediately realize its great value for as you know Rivera was a great revolution arty--for a while in the 4th. There is some of Siquieros's work but and also Orozco but Rivera dominates--and in color too. If you would pick up a copy for me I would be more than happy to recompense you when you bring it up with you in the meantime acquainting yourself with the book over the summer.

I got your letter t is morning with clippings and the essay including Penner's comments. Good to get the stuff on the Sunday action in Washington. I have must put it on the bulletin board--along with the item on the impact of women's liberation on the popular music of our times.

Glad you liked the review of 1905. I too am now sufficnently impressed to really read it. I have it propped up on my reading stand on the kitchen table. As you must have noticed the review leaned heavily on the Novack review that appread in ICP. I felt alright about cribbing from ICP but now I see the editors os the Militant have gone and widen the readership of the review. I never got a response from that prof. I also told him for the review copy of the Harrington book. I wrote in the name of Zane Boyd on your behalf--telling him that I typed it up for you and he could send the book for you via him. Why dont you wirte him to see what he thought of it and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ find out who picked it up---Professor Richard Perry 35 Duggan Ave., Toronto 7

Yes, I will write you something on Penner's criticism that you can rewirte to your tate. I have several ideas which I wont take up now

There are troubles about the YS. At last summers plenum I tried to force the undergro und gossip about dumping the YS out into the open but Dick and Gary who identified them selez with the idea pulled back. The gossip continued and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ after this last plenum I raised the matter again. Low and behold the first discussion revelealed that the idea of dumping YS--they call it fusing it with LC --was widely held. In fact it was obvious we were hell bent on dumping it. I asked for a serious discussion and suddenly we hadfive contributions on the matter with those favoring the dumpi g writing from totally different viewpoints. I think that the process has been now slowed down but the direction is in my opinion clear. And as you know I am dead against liquid ating the YS--all the more that the radcialization is now reachi g into the H gh schools and to really tap that you need a youth paper. I am sure they would like to hear your opinions. But you should knowwtat the framework of the discussion now is. Of course you should not refer to any of the information above

I am suprised to hear that your mail has not been going forward. I had made arrangemts with Coral to put the change of address in. However immediately upon leraning of your pli ght I spoke to Cathy. Yes, she has been receiving you r mail--and expressed suprise that you had not left a forwaridig address. I expressed suprise that she had not made any enquiry. She said she would immedialy send it all on to you and that she would put a card in t the post office.

Glad you miss Crescent. Yes, I thought that the catalogue came off well and really doesn't need an attached magnifying glass. Coral is only managing to get the most un stable help. Norm worked for a while but has changed shift. But there is no doubt in my mind that we will be able to hold on until your arrival. Strange to say the Merlin order has been held up in customs. But as they say should be here any day now. I sent a catalogue to the Broadway SWP bookstroe so they could order Merlin and MLR. That is an excellent selection they have there.

We will try to meet your various suggestions with regards to signs etc --but ri g t now we are moving in on the camp.

You will hear from me about my assgiments very shortly.

comradely

Ross

Quebec labor fights anti-strike law

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labor Challenge

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Vietnam for the Vietnamese! Mobilize to force U.S. out now!

FLEEING SAIGON TROOPS scramble for helicopter (above) while liberation forces push forward in fight for self-determination.

by The Editors

MAY 2 — Liberation forces yesterday consolidated their hold on the northern province of south Vietnam with the capture of Quang Tri. Their forces are moving forward relentlessly on a number of fronts throughout the country.

ARVN, the colonial army of the Saigon regime — the army that Nixon claimed only a week ago could take over the fighting of the war — is falling apart. ARVN soldiers cling to helicopter struts to escape from the battlefield, or flee in disarray. Deserters returning from the fronts spread word of fresh disasters. It is clear now, if it was not before, that the only Vietnamese army that can be said to exist is the people's liberation forces. Now political figures in Saigon are openly speculating on the imminent collapse of the puppet regime.

South Vietnam never had any legitimacy. It was purely a creation of U.S. imperialism in the beginning, and has existed only by force of U.S. armed might. Vietnam is one country — not two. The only border is the wall of U.S. armour.

Despite Nixon's bombing — on a scale unparalleled in human history — despite the technological, remote-control weaponry, the heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination is advancing rapidly.

In his April 26 TV speech, Nixon declared, "All that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance." And so it does. Nixon now has two alternatives — accept defeat and get out, or launch another desperate attempt to win the war by destroying Vietnam — perhaps with nuclear weapons.

Nixon must be stopped. People in all countries, must be mobilized in powerful, united actions to force Nixon out now, and ensure the victory of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.

U.S. OUT NOW!

VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!

NDP ranks slam anti-Waffle witchhunt

labor Challenge #55 May 1972

by Donald Bates

The witchhunt atmosphere generated by Stephen Lewis' vicious red-baiting attack on the Waffle caucus at a provincial NDP council meeting last March 18 was nowhere to be seen at a hearing of the Vichert Committee on structures within the party on April 27.

The committee, set up by the Lewis leadership to bring down a report on how to deal with the Waffle, got quite a surprise. They were met by more than 200 party members with 44 briefs, overwhelmingly demanding democratic rights within the NDP.

Not only was this meeting five times larger than the committee had expected or wanted, but the mood was hostile to Lewis' attack. Right from the beginning there was an air of noisy skepticism, sustained by the briefs running four to one against Lewis.

One highlight of the meeting was Mel Watkins' summary of his 10,000 word reply to Lewis. Watkins presented a comprehensive defense of the Waffle's democratic right to exist as an organized caucus within the party. He pointed out that the Waffle had never violated the democratic norms of the NDP. "The Waffle exists to put forward a distinct set of views," said Watkins. "Powerful forces in the party, including the Lewis leadership, oppose these views and their attempt to suppress the Waffle is an attempt to suppress these views.

"The question of the Waffle's views is a question for the convention," insisted Watkins, "and the executive and council must not take any action against the Waffle." A tremendous round of applause greeted Watkins' concluding remark that the Waffle will "fight to remain the organized left caucus of the NDP."

What this meeting showed most clearly is that the sentiment exists in the party to beat back the Lewis-inspired witchhunt. In fact, the feeling at the meeting was all for establishing full democratic rights for groups inthe NDP.

Marilyn Landrus, presenting a brief from the St. Andrew & St. Patrick riding association gave an indication of the widespread opposition to Lewis' moves against the Waffle. Landrus explained that while she and most of her riding are not Wafflers, they appreciate the Waffle for opening up discussion in the party.

The St. A&P brief presented a conclusive case on the need for democracy in the NDP. It demanded that the party leadership acknowledge the right to organize and freely express views, and suggested that the party encourage all groups with common concerns to organize. Moving beyond simply defending the party against the Lewis attack, the brief went on to examine the role of the leadership. It criticized the leadership because it has failed to promote discussion in the party and because it has not held the parliamentary caucus accountable to convention policy decisions.

Coming early in the meeting, this brief forced the Committee on to the defensive. Throughout the evening they felt compelled to intervene, to defend the Lewis leadership and to complain that the briefs they were hearing weren't giving them the kind of direction they wanted. Questioning by the Committee members consistently harped on the old theme: "But what are the limits? Surely you agree there have to be some regulations to control groups like the Waffle?"

The Committee only found more frustrations as the evening wore on. Beaches-Woodbine riding president Bruce Kidd's submission typified the response from the party ranks. He told the Committee that the first point on the set of recommendations from his riding demanded "that the provincial executive cease its suicidal purge of the Waffle and recommend to the next provincial convention that the Waffle and other dissenting groups have the right to exist."

Mel Watkins

Other speakers challenged the biased frame of reference of the committee, questioning the narrowness of its scope and its composition. Many riding representatives complained of the lack of time to prepare and discuss this matter with the full membership of their ridings.

To NDPers concerned about the defense of democracy in the party this meeting came as a real inspiration. Its only shortcoming was the Waffle's failure to project an ongoing campaign to fight for democratic rights. The desire for such a campaign was very evident and suggestions for the demands to be put forward in this campaign came from a wide range of speakers. Some of the more popular demands were that the party newspaper be opened to opposition views, that resolutions be circulated throughout the party, and that the mailing lists be available to all groups within the party. Another important issue in this campaign is the demand that the Watkins' brief receive the same treatment as the Lewis speech which is now being circulated in pamphlet form on a big scale.

The Vichert committee hearing provided just a glimpse of what happens when the party rank-and-file are mobilized, and what can be done to halt the attack of the party leadership. Now this must be followed up with broad meetings of the party membership to spearhead the campaign to defend democracy within the NDP.

labor Challenge #55 May 1972

BRITISH WOMEN DEMONSTRATE for right to abortion in London, Nov. 20, 1971.

British women organize

"We feel strongly that abortion is the issue..."

The following interview with Caroline Brooks and Frances Howard-Gordon, activists in the British movement for a woman's right to abortion, originally appeared in the March 24 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, the Militant.

Just as the struggle of women for abortion is international, the organized opposition to it exists in every country. The day before International Abortion Action Week (May 1-6) began, opponents of women's rights held a demonstration of a reported 40,000 in Liverpool. Brooks and Howard-Gordon tell of the campaign in Britain for a woman's right to choose.

Militant: What are the laws in Britain governing abortion and contraception?

Brooks: We have a liberalized law in England which dates back to 1967. But although it's called a liberalized law, it's a very restrictive law. You have to have the signatures of two doctors before you can get an abortion. And you can only get these signatures if you come into certain categories. You either have to be "medically unfit," and they list the categories for this, or you have to be virtually insane. Or the fetus has to be in a situation where it could become a seriously handicapped child. You also have to have your abortion under specific conditions, that is, in a National Health Service hospital or a clinic that has a license.

Before this law, abortion was a criminal act, although contraception has never been illegal.

Militant: If a woman does obtain an abortion under the National Health Service, does she have to pay?

Howard-Gordon: No, the abortion is paid for by the National Health Service.

Militant: Are contraceptives available to all women in England, regardless of age?

Howard-Gordon: If you're under 16, you have to get your parent's consent. Contraceptives are not on the National Health Service — you still have to pay.

Another thing is that in the law there's a "conscience clause" which says that if a doctor doesn't feel that it's moral for him to recommend someone for an abortion, he doesn't have to. And he also doesn't have to refer that person to another doctor.

Militant: Are there laws specifically dealing with contraception?

Brooks: In 1967, the same year the Abortion Act was passed, there was also the Family Planning Act, which gave permissive powers to local authorities to provide family-planning clinics and family-planning advice. If they wished, they could give free advice to all women and free supplies to women if they couldn't afford to pay for them. It was not mandatory, so local authorities were not forced to give free advice. You've got a situation where in some areas you can get free contraceptives and free advice, and in other towns you've got to pay for advice and supplies.

And this applies to your ability to get an abortion, too. In some areas, it's easier to get an abortion. In some areas the gynecologists in the hospitals are Roman Catholics and they do not allow a large number of legal abortions. They do not give out places in gynecological wards for women to have abortions. In certain areas where the medical profession is predominately Catholic, you can't even get a doctor to sign your medical consent form.

Howard-Gordon: What's really happened is that because the National Health Service simply doesn't have the facilities and the doctors, there's a very large private practice. In fact, it's an incredible racket. They make enormous amounts of money, from 200 to 300 pounds per abortion (approximately $520 to $790).

Brooks: There were over 126,000 legal abortions in 1971, but out of that 126,000 only 43 percent were on the National Health Service.

Militant: How did the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign develop?

Brooks: The campaign grew out of a feeling in different parts of England in the feminist groups that the women's movement was fragmenting because there was no action. We'd had four demands for quite a long time — equal pay, equal educational opportunities, free 24-hour community-controlled child care, free abortion and contraception — and we'd had local campaigns that have been very optimistic. Women have won local campaigns against city councils and county councils to get free family planning advice and free contraception and there have been campaigns among trade-union women in certain factories, but it's all been very localized. At Skegness (site of Oct. 20, 1971, women's liberation conference) the Nottingham group said that they would set themselves up as a coordinator of an abortion and contraception campaign. We talked about the campaign in America and the international aspects of the campaign. After the Skegness conference our first action was to mobilize women

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for Nov. 20 in solidarity with sisters all over the world. On Nov. 20 there were demonstrations, teach-ins and public meetings.

In the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign we feel very strongly that it is the issue of abortion and contraception that can unite women, that will extend the women's movement from being very small feminist groups into a mass women's movement united against the government to achieve certain demands that we don't have at this point.

Howard-Gordon: We have groups started in London, Nottingham, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool — eight in all.

Brooks: The London group called a national meeting of representatives on Jan. 16 and it was at this meeting that we decided we wanted to launch a national campaign.

Our intention is not just to keep it a campaign within the women's movement but to take it out beyond the women's movement to include all organizations and individuals who support our demands. And we did in fact produce a policy statement.

The main demands in the statement were: free contraception — every woman should have the right to free contraception under the National Health Service; abortion, a woman's right to choose — any woman who does not want to continue a pregnancy should have access to free and safe abortion; no enforced sterilization — pressure should not be put on any woman to accept sterilization as a condition for abortion.

Militant: Is there a movement in England against women's right to abortion?

Brooks: There is a very strong and powerful anti-abortion movement in England.

There are societies similar to those you have in the USA: the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, the Life Organization. There are numerous societies sponsored by the Catholic Church. At a rally in Birmingham in the summer of 1971, they had 5,000 people in the streets all crying against abortion. At a recent rally in January in Nottingham, a small industrial town, they managed to get 1,000 into a hall.

They're having another rally in Liverpool on April 30 and Malcolm Muggeridge (a conservative British journalist) will be speaking. He's come out in clear support, as have many members of Parliament, of those people whose main aim is to repeal the Abortion Act. (If the Abortion Act were repealed, abortion would become a criminal offense under British common law.)

Militant: What were your impressions of the Women's National Abortion Action Conference and the American feminist movement?

Brooks: I hadn't thought the feminist consciousness in America was so well organized, so well worked out on issues like free abortion on demand — which I realize is just not tactical in this campaign at this time.

I think we learned too that women can develop a true feminist consciousness, that they can be aware that it isn't enough just to sort out what's wrong. It isn't just enough to sort out why we are oppressed; we can do something about this oppression.

Militant: What future activities does the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign plan?

Brooks: We will have another national women's liberation conference on March 25 this year. We are hoping there to mobilize more women in the movement toward the campaign and to establish a date for a national planning conference.

I think at the moment we've basically got to go ahead with activities that are primarily educational. We must hold public meetings, teach-ins. We must debate publicly with the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, and we must lobby the MPs in the government.

We should always come out in international solidarity.

We made it!

by Kate Alderdice
Fund Drive Director.

We made it!

The Labor Challenge Expansion Drive is over and we've received $21,000 in cash and pledges for the coming year. What's more, the money is still pouring in, and we should have more than the $23,200 promised us in the next few days.

By the time the next issue reaches you, we'll be way over the top in our drive for a 12-page Labor Challenge. Watch for the final scoreboard in the coming issue, which will show you how each area did in the drive.

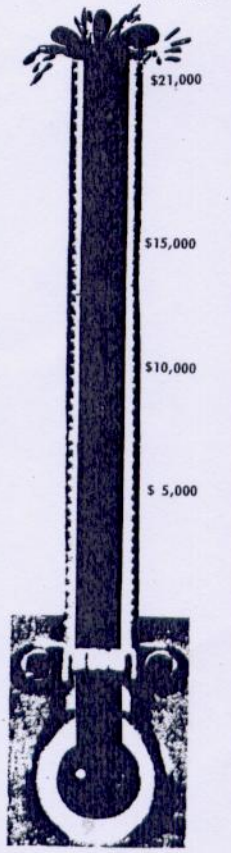
Labor Challenge readers across the country made a real effort to make this drive the most ambitious and successful in our history. We asked you to dig into your own pickets and you did. We asked you to ask other people for contributions, and you did that too. We even asked you for your car if you didn't have any money, and while we didn't get a car, we **did** get a motorized bicycle. A Toronto supporter donated his bike to the drive and it raised over $200 in a raffle.

Another project Toronto readers undertook was auctioning one-of-a-kind posters made up specially for the occasion. Some of the posters were of famous revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg and Friedrich Engels. Others were of revolutionary personalities and events in Canada, long buried by the official history books — including one shot of four Manitoba suffragists, photographed with a petition to the government. This auction raised $750 for the drive!

Readers in several areas systematically visited people asking for contributions. They visited local subscribers, university professors, members of the NDP, and the response was excellent. At least two areas, Vancouver and Toronto, overshot their original goals, and when all the money comes in we may find that other areas have done the same.

The next issue of Labor Challenge, two weeks from now, will give you what you paid for — a bigger paper, better able to help you in your school, your office, your union local. With the contributions and the enthusiasm you have shown in the drive, we can make this paper a more effective instrument for the thousands of people who are fed up with the inequities and injustices of this society. We can do that by providing more educational articles, more and better coverage of Canadian and international politics — more of the truth.

That's why it's important for you to send in the money you've collected right away. And if you've been meaning to send in a contribution yourself, but just never got around to it, you're not too late. Reach for your checkbook right now; you can still get in under the wire. Your contribution could help us to make a really spectacular showing in this drive, well over our goal of $21,000. And watch for the next issue of Labor Challenge, the first issue of the 12-page paper.



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Enclosed is $100 —— $50 —— $20 —— $10 —— as my contribution to help make Labor Challenge a 12-page biweekly.

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labor Challenge #55 May 1972

Editor: DICK FIDLER
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

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Editorials

Bilingualism- a vicious hoax

Last June's census revealed some telling facts about the decline of the French language in Canada. Statistics Canada reported April 24 that the proportion of the Canadian population listing French as their mother tongue declined to 26.9 percent from 28.1 percent ten years earlier.

Even in Quebec French lost ground during the last decade, dropping from 81.2 percent in 1961 to 80.7 percent in 1971.

In an editorial April 26, the Toronto Star asked, "Is French a dying language in Canada?"

But they quickly try to reassure those who are beginning to see through the sham of the federal government's bilingualism program:

"These statistics do not necessaily mean that the bilingualism program is failing and that French is doomed. They measure the language of birth in Canada — 'language first learned and still understood' — and not the extent to which languages are actually used.

"What we really need to know is to what extent Canadians with French as their mother tongue are now able to use it in their daily lives. . .

"A language is preserved not by inheritance, but by use. . ." says the Star, which then goes on to assert that "it is too early to write of bilingualism as a policy."

What deceitful hypocrisy. The Toronto Star knows full well what the daily use of French amounts to in Quebec, let alone in English Canada.

The Gendron Commission, set up by the former Union Nationale government in Quebec to study the respective status of French and English in the Quebec economy, has found that 50 percent of Quebec workers must use English at work. This information, reported in the April 23 Quebec-Presse, was "leaked" by Commission researchers who have been under instructions to treat their findings with complete secrecy.

Language oppression of the Quebecois is the cruel reality of everyday life in Quebec — at work and in the schools and universities. The legal "equality" of French in Quebec is a sham.

The assimilation of French speaking Quebecois at work is only one side of the erosion of the French language. Since the passing of Bill 63, which instituted bilingualism as an official policy in the Quebec school system in 1969, a marked trend away from French language instruction has taken place, especially among immigrant students. If present trends continue, it is certain that Montreal, the heart of the Quebecois nation, will be a majority English language city by the turn of the century.

Trudeau's policy of bilingualism and biculturalism is a vicious hoax designed to cover up the steady erosion of the French language. In practise it means that it is the Quebecois who are forced to learn another language — it is a one-way street towards

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assimilation into English. A language which is spoken only after five o'clock in the afternoon is already doomed.

There is only one way for the Quebecois to maintain their language and through it their culture and national integrity — to make French the sole official language in Quebec.

The mass movement to defend the French language in Quebec demands that French be legislated as the language of government, business and industry (the language of work) and as the language of instruction in the public school system — the program for French unilingualism.

Those demands are completely just and democratic. Liberals who speak about "equality of language" in opposition to the unilingual movement are raising a phony argument to evade the real question — the critical inequality of French in the face of Quebec's domination by foreign capital, which speaks English.

The French speaking Quebecois do not have the freedom to choose what language they will use, but are constrained in their own homeland to work and study in a foreign language, unless and until they use the power of their government to protect their national language.

Bilingualism for the Quebecois means not equality and freedom of choice regarding language, but intolerable pressures to first corrupt and ultimately give up their language. Only a policy of protection of the French language, legally enacted by the Quebec National Assembly — will permit the Quebecois people to remain French. That is the fundamental and democratic right of any nation.

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HAMILTON, Ont. LSA, YS, 182 Locke St. N., (416) 529-8979.
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libération
A BAS LA LOI 19!
A la place du gouvernement anti-syndical de Bourassa: Un gouvernement des travailleurs et des cultivateurs! page 2
Non à la norme de 82 jours dans les cegeps! page 3
Montée des forces révolutionnaires en Indochine! page 4

This special issue of **Liberation** was rushed out in late April to meet a challenge — from the Quebec government. They attacked the Quebec labor movement, and **Liberation** put all of its resources into the defense campaign.

That's what **Liberation** is for — to defend, explain and advance the mass movements in Quebec which are leading towards an independent and socialist Quebec. **Liberation** is written by and for activists in those movements.

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labor Challenge #55 May 1972

W. Germany bars Mandel

Canadians launch appeal

by Phil Courneyeur

The Ernest Mandel Tour Committee in Canada, which organized a cross-country speaking tour for Ernest Mandel last December in cooperation with students and faculty on fifteen campuses, has issued a statement to the West German government protesting its February 28 decision to bar the well-known Belgian Marxist economist from the Federal Republic.

Mandel, a prominent leader of the Fourth International, was barred on the grounds that he is a "revolutionist who aims to overthrow the established order." He was banned following an invitation to take up an appointment at the Free University of West Berlin.

The Canadian protest statement read in part:

"We, the undersigned, protest the decision of your government to bar Ernest Mandel from entering the Federal Republic of Germany.

"This action, in our opinion, violates not only Ernest Mandel's freedom to travel and lecture in Germany, but the freedom of the German people to hear his views . . .

"The freedom to hear different ideas and political viewpoints is, as the New York Times commented, "a vital ingredient of free assembly and free speech itself . . ."

"Your decision to bar Mandel from West Germany arouses concern over the policy of your government on academic and intellectual freedom, in particular on the rights of socialist and Marxist thinkers to freely participate in the intellectual life of the German people. Having banned Mandel the person, how far are you from banning Mandel's books and articles?"

Among the initial signers of the protest are: Professor Melville Watkins, a leader of the Waffle caucus of the New Democratic Party; Ian Lumsden, editor of "Close the 49th Parallel", Robert Albritton, Department of Political Science at York University, Jose Nun, a prominent Latin American writer with the University of Toronto Department of Political Economy, and Professor Abraham Rotstein, editor of Canadian Forum.

The initiators of the Canadian protest statement have appealed for further signatures and for donations to defray the costs of their project. Copies of the statement are available from Phil Courneyeur at 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario.

Protests against the Mandel ban in other countries, including West Germany, are continuing.

The case was raised at one of the largest trade union meetings in West Germany April 13. The fourth conference on "The Challenge of the Future" to which the Metalworkers Union had invited academics from all over the world, was presented with a petition denouncing the Mandel ban. It was signed by conference participants Andre Gorz Ken Coates, Alessandro Pizzorno Heinz Kuby, Wolfgang Roth, G Cella, Serge Mallet, Maurice Chaumont, Alberto Tridente, Robert Jungk, Albert Mercier, H. Claasen Pierre Naville, and Hans Kopp.

Their statement read in part: "... we feel it ncessary to protest against the contrasting actions of the German government which recently deported professor Ernest Mandel in order to prevent his view from being heard in the country. Such interference with freedom of opinion has a European significance and must concern all of us, many of whom may expect to be similarly affected, whatever our views, if the principle of State licensing of those opinions which are to be heard gains further currency . . ."

photo by Jeff White

BANNED FROM WEST GERMANY. Ernest Mandel speaking to York University students during Canadian tour last December.

Nixon escalates assault on Vietnamese

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Behind Lewis' attack on NDP Waffle caucus

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Feminist debate

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Jailing of leaders sparks Quebec labor upsurge

Features pages 6,7,8

Quebec labor leaders Louis Laberge, Marcel Pepin, and Yvon Charbonneau on their way to jail lead demonstration of thousands of Quebecois workers.

labor Challenge #56

Labor leaders' message from prison

"We are not giving in!"

Written in Prison

In two months, nothing very new!

On **March 9**, the 210,000 public workers enthusiastically rejected the government's proposals and indicated their intention to strike if necessary in support of their deamnds.

On **April 9**, after three weeks of negotiations at the central table, in restricted committee, on a sectoral level, after the (24-hour) strike of the 28th of March, after the first "preventative" injunctions of Judge Pelletier, and above all at the end of a magnificent four-day tour of major centers which had confirmed our mandate, the common front took the decision to launch a general strike of unlimited duration — in spite of the injunctions.

On **May 9**, we made our way to Orsainville (prison) following in the tracks of several dozen militants whose only crime was to have believed in their right to strike, whose every merit is to believe in their solidarity as workers ...

As the presidents of labor bodies, we have committed ourselves to follow things through to the end, and to let the political and judicial system carry on with its own murderous logic ...

Behind the labor relations mechanisms and beyond the arrangements dealing with injunctions, there still remains the workers' desire to participate, through their trade unions, in the determination of their fate according to their needs, just as there always remains for the present governmental system the desire to crush the workers in order to court the foreign financial interests who have shaped the system.

Within the present trade union conflict, there is a developing social struggle. The Liberal Establishment, pursued by a yelping caucus of enraged backbenchers envious of the trade unions' influence, has chosen to make the bludgeoning of workers its trade mark ...

The ordinary people learn quickly that this government won't and can't really negotiate because the men who make it up are themselves inthe grip of the financiers or the federal government — and they owe their power to them, not to the ordinary people.

JAILED FOR LEADING STRIKE. 34 leaders of various unions, joined by families and friends, march to police headquarters in Quebec City May 16 to serve contempt-of-court charges.

A participant, a fighter!

"Repression makes a battle out of simple panic; a fighter out of the participants; a solid, united force from an irregular group of individuals ... and it forces everyone, in the end, to choose sides!"

Used to governing as a small gang, the people in power thought they could destroy the common front by jailing the presidents; they thought they could break the unions by throwing Bill 19 at them; they thought the membership would be divided as if they were only interest groups and partisan factions like the bosses.

The striking force of the workers in the private and public sectors doesn't hide behind the mask of its "leaders." The same people who yesterday were pressing the government to "put us in our place," are today advising us to appeal, to exercise our rights, to regain the leadership of our movements, and so forth and so on ...

Would we have more rights on appeal than in the court of first instance? Do you get closer to Justice the further you get from the Superior Court?

While we wait!

The solidarity of the union members in all areas of Quebec is their response to the repression, to the government's refusal to respect its employees.

The cause of the unions and society for which we are all struggling, outside or "inside," is completely just. We will carry it through by our resistance and our determination.

We're not giving up. Yvon Charbonneau, Lousi Laberge, Marcel Pepin, inmates of Orsainville detention center.

In a "Special, Stop the Press" announcement appended to their statement, the three labor leaders note Bourassa's last-minute replacement of Civil Service Minister J.P. L'Allier by Jean Cournoyer. They state in part:

"We must state, immediately and unequivocably that this change in the individual minister in no way changes the labor and social struggle at issue.

"Because, by all sorts of manuevers — lawyers, commissioners, ministerial declarations, the advice of erudite experts, the PQ's appeals for common sesne — the government is going to try to get us out of prison, after having locked us up. When at liberty, we had to be condemned.

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Condemned, we are to go to appeal, while on parole!

"Have we ever seen such flabbiness? The government will not use us as its security to comouflage the chaos it has brought about by its repression. Will Mr. Cournoyer, with his mandate from the premier, be able to satisfy the union demands? Will he be able to re-establish the unions' normal rights to negotiation and to strike? Will he be able to lift the sentences against the members of the common front?

"When Messieurs Bourassa and Cournoyer have responded to these questions, they will have shown they have some intention of correcting theig errors."

Workers ran Que. town

Here is how Quebec-Presse (May 14) reported the workers' seizure of Thetford Mines, a mining town in the Eastern Townships southeast of Montreal.

Thetford Mines, a city of 23,000, is in the hands of the asbestos workers and workers of the public and parapublic (hospitals and schools) sector. The municipal police tried to intervene yesterday morning during the occupation of the radio station. They had the support of about 30 provincial police officers. A trade union spokesperson remarked to the police, who were largely outnumbered by the strikers, that "the dynamiters are on our side, not yours." The police, we're told, understood. The police were also told it was best they not call for reinforcements.

Everything is under control in the city where the unions involved, CSN, FTQ and CEQ, are ensuring that there is no violence. The city is controlled by radio (eight sending and receiving stations) and at the least skirmish or incident the unions can rapidly intervene to put things in their place.

All alcohol outlets are closed. Only small grocery stores are open, the big ones having been warned not to open their doors. They were only allowed to do so yesterday afternoon when the small establishments began to run short of essential items.

In the downtown area, there was a street dance all afternoon and evening, yesterday, with various bands. The union announces moreover that the city council is collaborating completely with the workers: a telegram has been sent to Bourassa demanding the withdrawal of Bill 19 and amnesty for all those sentenced.

CLC convention backs Quebec labor leaders

OTTAWA, MAY 15 — An emergency resolution calling for amnesty for all Quebec unionists jailed following the 11-day general strike of public workers last month was passed today by a unanimous standing vote of the 1,800 delegates at the convention of the Canadian Labor Congress.

The resolution, which in particular is directed to freeing the three leaders of the Common Front which led the strike against Bourassa's government also affirmed the CLC support of the demands made by the striking workers.

Denouncing Bourassa's strikebreaking Bill 19, which bans public service workers from striking for two years and the imposition of compulsory arbitration, CLC President Donald MacDonald said that those who want to outlaw strikes, particularly in the public service, and force union disputes to compulsory arbitration are out to destroy organized labor.

"The use of compulsory arbitration serves only to destroy the long and hard-earned rights of workers. This procedure, if permitted to become commonplace in 'settling' disputes, would eventually destroy organized labor."

But the CLC leadership cut across the spirit of the resolution by calling for "calm" in Quebec and by failing to propose any concrete actions to demonstrate solidarity with the Quebec workers.

The unanimous CLC vote followed a strong appeal from the secretary-treasurer of the Quebec Federation of Labor, Fernand Daoust. Countering those in the CLC leadership who had appealed for "calm" in Quebec, Daoust declared: "The Quebec Federation of Labor has encouraged and incited all workers to use all methods of action so the government of Quebec will realize Quebec workers will no longer tolerate its actions."

The QFL leader said later he was pleased that the convention resolution asked for amnesty for the three leaders and the repeal of the repressive legislation. "But we would have liked more. We would have liked support of the actions we have been taking in Quebec."

The CLC resolution directly reflects the impact of the Quebec labor struggles on the labor movement in English Canada and reveals the strong conflicting pressures on the Congress brass. While they eagerly seek labor-boss cooperation, they are compelled to defend labor's most elementary right — the right to strike.

The resolution on Quebec is a powerful mandate to militant trade unionists across the country to organize solidarity actions with their sisters and brothers in Quebec — to back up their demands for amnesty and for the repeal of Bill 19.

Full coverage of the CLC convention will appear in the next issue.

labor Challenge #56

Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere statement:

Quebec labor needs own party

By imposing the infamous Bill 19 on the trade unionists of the public and parapublic sectors, taking away their fundamental democratic right to strike, and by handing down a maximum sentence of one year to the three labor leaders — Yvon Charbonneau, Louis Laberge and Marcel Pepin — for trade union activity, the Bourassa government shows its real face, that of an antilabor government which has sold out to the foreign bosses and the federal government in Ottawa.

That is why the Bourassa government refuses to concede the just minimal demands of its employees, like the $100 minimum per week and job security, while at the same time granting subsidies of several tens of millions of dollars to the exploiters of Quebec like the American ITT and International Business Machines.

Bourassa, the faithful servant of Trudeau, is not alone in his assault on the rights of the labor movement and his attempt to deprive the union movement of its leaders. He is aided by the judicial system, this mechanism of the bosses indispensible to keeping them in power on the backs of the working class and the majority of the Quebec nation.

All the political parties now in the National Assembly have lined up on the side of the government against the labor movement — including the Parti Quebecois. While posing as the "people's party" and an independentist party, the PQ has aligned itself with the "forces of order" and of those who maintain Quebec in the linguistic and national oppression of Canadian federalism. The PQ refuses to ask the government to grant a postponement of the sentences against the three labor leaders, and it refuses to demand the withdrawal of Bill 19. Instead, the PQ attacks the victims of the government, blaming them because they have not taken advantage of "the right of appeal," while accepting the charges and the barbarous sentence imposed by Bourassa.

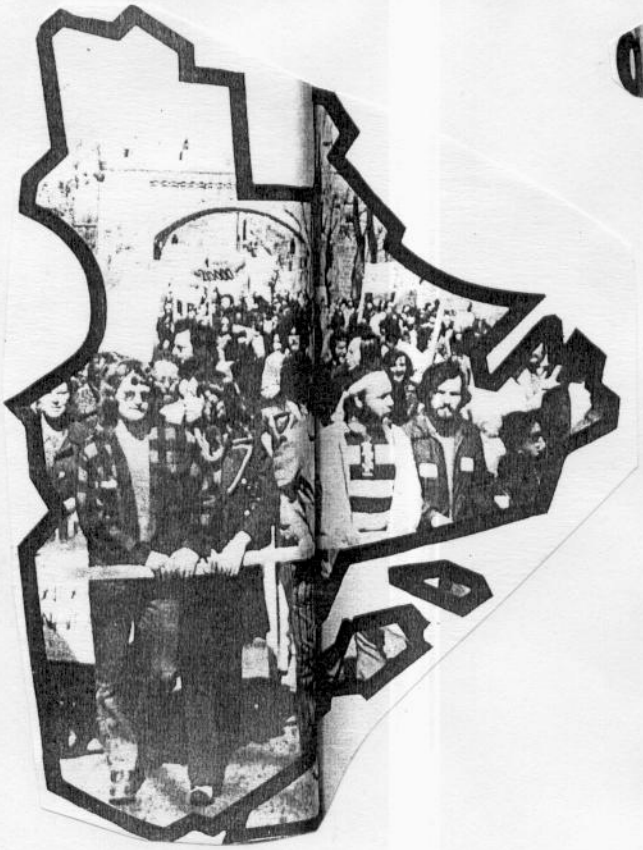
In contrast to all these bourgeois parties which are devoted to the maintenance of capitalism and the double oppression of the Quebecois workers, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, an independentist organization, fully supports all actions carried out across Quebec by the workers who are seeking the liberation of their leaders and the withdrawal of Bill 19.

The main lesson to draw from this struggle is the necessity for the Quebec working class to break with bourgeois politics and with all bourgeois parties, including the Parti Quebecois, to create its own mass political party. Let's rely only on ourselves! The trade union centrals in Quebec must launch a labor party, the indispensable arm in the Quebec workers' liberation struggle capable of carrying all struggles — electoral or extra-parliamentary like strikes, demonstrations and occupations — to the political level.

Only the mass labor party, initiated by the union centrals, is capable of replacing the antilabor Bourassa government by a government of the workers and farmers at the head of a Quebec that is free, independent and French.

labor Challenge #56 May 1972

Workers' upsurge shakes roots of Quebec society



"REVOLT ON THE AIRWAVES" — Police break down the door of radio station in St. Jerome to evict unionists who had occupied the station. Striking workers were broadcasting news of massive strike wave against Quebec antilabor Bill 19 and the jailing of union Common Front leaders.

Workers' upsurge shakes roots of Quebec society
(From Labor Challenge May 1972)
[Handwritten margin notes by Ross D.]

by DICK FlDLER

MONTREAL, May 15 — The massive strike wave, now almost a week old, continues across Quebec in the wake of the jailing of the three presidents of the major labor bodies.

More than 100,000 workers at last count — in private and public sectors; industrial, professional, white collar and service workers — have spontaneously walked off the job. Their immediate demands: the freeing of the jailed union leaders; repeal of Bill 19, which broke the strike of the 210,000 public service workers; and a general amnesty for all unionists fined or jailed for ignoring injunctions that violated their right to strike.

General Revolt

But the scope and depth of the present wave of strikes — the biggest in Quebec history — have revealed in sharp relief the explosiveness, the revolutionary thrust, of the class struggle in Quebec. Sparked by a general revulsion against the Bourassa government's assault on the labor movement, the upsurge has tended to merge with other issues — to become a general revolt by the Québécois against their national oppression.

The strike began Tuesday, May 9. In Quebec City, the three leaders of the Common Front — Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), Yvon Charbonneau of the Corporation of Quebec Teachers (CEQ), and Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) leading several thousand demonstrators in a march to the gates of the Orsainville prison *[NO—to Quebec City courthouse-RD].* There, following speeches to the crowd, they surrendered to the authorities to serve the sentences of one year that had been imposed on them the day before for urging their members to ignore injunctions served during the public workers strike.

Reflecting the sentiment of the crowd, the president of the jail guards' union urged his members not to accept the three labor leaders in the prisons. "It is the deputies (of the National Assembly) who should be in their place," he said — those who are responsible for the back-to-work Bill 19.

With the jailing of the labor leaders, commented the trade union weekly *Quebec-Presse*, "it was as if with one blow the 600,000 Quebec union members they represent had been jailed. For Quebec workers, it catalyzed their frustration and resentment at low wages, hopeless working conditions and national oppression.

Spontaneous movement

"No precise watchword was given, but the spontaneous strike movements, the occupations and demonstrations began to spread throughout most of Quebec..."

It began that day, May 9, with the walkout of 3,500 longshoremen in ports along the St. Lawrence. Then it spread to thousands of teachers across the province, joined by support staff. Then the hospital workers, and the nurses in several big hospitals. At Montreal's Notre-Dame hospital, 2,000 members of the CSN meeting in the cafeteria were ejected by the police riot squad.

A month earlier, the general strike of public and parapublic workers had not directly touched the private sector. This time, the private sector workers, many of them in heavy industry and "international" unions, played a leading role. As the wildcat walkouts gathered momentum, construction workers, autoworkers, steelworkers, shipyard workers and miners walked off the job.

By Friday, May 12, a dozen cities and towns were totally strikebound. Roving squads of strikers patrolled the streets, and visited neighboring towns to spread the strike.

In Montreal, the "blue-collar" workers hit the bricks May 12. For them, it was also a protest against the smashing of their own strike three months earlier by a court injunction which had expired only hours earlier.

The movement quickly took on the character of a general challenge to the status quo. When a group of strikers from Saint-Jerome, about 40 miles north of Montreal, set up a picket-line at the big General Motors plant [*and radio station –RD]* at nearby Ste-Therese, the autoworkers wildcatted. A manager, trying to enter the plant, was stopped by a picket: "No one goes in, there's no work today.".

"By who's authority?" the manager asked. "By the authority of the workers of Quebec," he was told. Another boss started complaining to a picket, who turned, smiling, toward his fellow strikers: "It's all right. He doesn't speak French — but he's learning."

A high point of the strike wave so far is on the North Coast of the St. Lawrence, especially Sept-Iles, where for the first time in Quebec history, "the unions completely control the city. We can close or open the bars, the stores, the shops and the schools as we wish," states Clement Godbout, a Steelworkers representative. Sept-Iles, by the way, boasted the highest wages in Canada last year.

"The takeover in Sept-Iles began on the Tuesday night," reported Louis Paquette in the revolutionary socialist newspaper *Libération*. "Thousands of workers demonstrated at the courthouse against the imprisonment of the three labor leaders. The cops charged the crowd, wounding several and arresting others. The next morning the workers responded: a general strike paralyzed the city of 22,000 inhabitants. The 45-man police force was overwhelmed and unable to do anything. The strikers quickly erected barricades on the highway into town and blocked the airport runways; telephone lines were cut... The radio station was occupied and operated under the control of the unions."

A union delegation marched on the city hall where it forced the municipal council to hold an emergency meeting and express its solidarity with the demands of the Common Front.

Similar developments occurred in other areas of the province. Thousands of workers roamed through the streets. Occupied radio stations — and in at least one instance, a TV station — broadcast "revolutionary songs" and news releases from local unions.

In Montreal, the workers at*La Presse*, the biggest daily newspaper, voted to strike for 24 hours in solidarity; then sent out flying squads to persuade the other five dailies not to publish on Friday, May 12. Even the English newspapers had to close — the first time in the 103-year history of the *Montreal Star*.

Occupation

While most workers have joined the protest by walking out, at the Albert-Prevost Institute, a hospital in Montreal, the 300 unionized workers expelled the management Friday night, May 12, and have begun to operate the institution under workers' self-management, while continuing to care for the patients. Following a tour of the hospital under workers control, Fernand Daoust FTQ secretary-treasurer hailed the workers' initiative, saying it is a "forerunner of union attitudes to come."

A new labor unity has been forged in common struggle. A few weeks ago, the Bourassa government invoked a bitter jurisdictional conflict between construction unions of the FTQ and CSN to pass an emergency law; today the union members in Sept-Iles are solidly united in a Common Front *[Why not United Front—we want to popularize this word against Popular Front which Common Front leaves open to—RD]* that embraces all the unions.

Need Co-ordination

For the strike to continue and expand for much longer however, this local unity will have to be extended to the national plane, through the creation of a central strike leadership. The big three trade union centers have considerable technical resources at their disposal — telex machines, open inter-city telephone lines, printing apparatus, etc. — yet the strike on a national level is virtually leaderless. *[But it just so happens that the situation hasn't materialized to that degree yet--RD]*

A spokesperson of the Common Front states: "We're no longer announcing anything, we're just encouraging actions which hit here one day, there another, just like what happens in a real guerrilla struggle."

It has been left to the strikers at various levels — individual unions, regional committees, etc. — to develop their own strategies. In a statement distributed through thousands of leaflets to mass meetings of strikers, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) *[Get a copy!--RD]* projects the formation of action committees "in each factory and workplace, and at the city-wide level."

Composed of representatives from the union, democratically elected by the ranks, the statement explains "such committees would be able to unify actions in each region and spread them to other workplaces. The committee would elaborate an overall strategy incorporating

militant actions like strikes, occupations, takeovers of news media, work slowdowns, mass meetings and demonstrations."

'Revolutionary'

The Quebec workers' strike upsurge is being closely watched across Canada. The capitalist press oscillates between trying to dismiss it as little more than a conspiracy by a small minority who are alleged to be manipulating the union members, and statements expressing deep unease at the implications of this mass movement. Typical is the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, which managed to combine both interpretations in one editorial May 13:

"The only thing clear now is that a violently inclined minority in the trade union movement, roused by militant leaders, is prepared to defy government and the law to the utmost and rip the fabric of orderly society in total disregard for the interests of the people... We must assume that what has been happening these past few days in Quebec is not representative of public feeling generally, for if it were a major part of Canada would be on the verge of Revolution."

And further on: "While the past statements of the common front leaders about their objectives have been alarming enough, the most disturbing feature of the present situation is the evidence it presents of how far their ideas and ideology have permeated the lower leadership and general membership of the unions in Quebec. The strikes and violence have been widespread and the numbers participating considerable. We are witnessing a new surge of a third political force in Quebec, one outside the normal political structure of government and opposition; one in fact dedicated to their destruction. The potential is extremely dangerous, and it will have to be contained and disarmed by legitimate authority."

Trudeau has so far feigned an attitude of comparative unconcern, apparently in the belief that at this stage the worst blow to Bourassa would be to encourage the belief that Ottawa is about to step in and "resolve" the crisis — as it did with the army and the War Measures Act in October, 1970 — over the heads of the Quebec government.

English Canada

As for the English-Canadian labor movement: delegates to the Canadian Labor Congress convention in Ottawa today voted unanimously for a resolution demanding amnesty for all Quebec unionists imprisoned following the public workers' strike, and supporting the aims of the Common Front of public workers' unions.

CLC president Donald MacDonald had earlier issued a statement calling on Canadian workers to "rally to the support" of Quebec workers, but expressed unease at the direction the popular uprising was taking. "General strikes are a revolution, not a strike," *[Rotten statement at CLC congress—RD]* MacDonald told a Steelworkers policy conference in Ottawa last week. He went onto warn of "demagogues" who would seek to benefit from the Quebec unrest. To this point, the CLC leadership has failed to project any actions in English Canada to concretize the intent of the convention resolution.

In the face of Quebec labor's unprecedented show of strength, the Bourassa Liberal government has been unable to intervene. Having attempted to crush the workers with the "bludgeon-law" Bill 19, it now presents an image of great weakness — imploring the jailed labor leaders to appeal their sentence so the government may release them! Bourassa has refused hands down all calls for amnesty, and shown no inclination to appeal the sentences through his own Justice Department.

Just as the strike wave was peaking, Bourassa's problems were compounded by the announced resignation of two key ministers, Social Services minister Claude Castonguay and Civil Service Minister Jean-Paul L'Allier. According to Castonguay, they were convinced that the Quebec government could no longer continue to maneuver within the rigid "federalism" of the Trudeau government without risking being "carried away by the tidal wave of social tensions presently shaking Quebec." But both withdrew their resignations in response to the premier's plea for "cabinet solidarity" to face the crisis.

Parti Québécois Role

As throughout the civil service strike, a major obstacle facing the labor movement has been the lack of political support from any party. The independentist Parti Québécois has denounced *[Presents a picture of an opposed PQ—RD]* the strikers, urging them to return to work. PQ leader René Lévesque, in a special statement, accused the unions of "leading us to the brink of anarchy."

He and other PQ leaders have refused to support the calls for amnesty and repeal of Bill 19, urging the labor leaders to "take advantage of their right of appeal and to exhaust all judicial recourses at their disposal." PQ deputy Robert Burns, a labor lawyer and former CSN official, tried to invoke the myth of separate powers: he told *Quebec-Presse* that amnesty "would create a dangerous precedent, for the executive power would be interfering in the judicial power."

The PQ's anti-labor position has provoked some sharp criticisms of the party leadership. Speaking to several thousand workers and their families who rallied at a "picnic" outside the walls of Orsainville jail May 13, CSN Montreal council president Michel Chartrand attacked Lévesque as a "traitor" who "wants an institutionalized labor movement, integrated to the capitalist system."

Power of Labor

The upsurge of the past week has revealed anew the tremendous power of the Quebec working class, its explosive capacity to shake the whole nation in a direct challenge to the government, judiciary and all established institutions.

Only a week ago, in the wake of the defeat of the public workers' strike by Bill 19, it seemed to many that the labor movement was in headlong retreat; attempts by the leadership to inspire another general strike, this time in the private sector and of limited duration, had met with considerable resistance.

It took only a spark, however — the shocking sentences against the three leading figures in Quebec labor *[Not the sentence but the going to jail—**they lead**—RD]* — to re-launch the strike movement, this time in new sectors, and on a much more generalized, more political plane. Whatever the outcome of this immediate upsurge, it is certain that the lessons of this historic experience will dominate the debates of the CSN and CEQ conventions which are scheduled in the next two months. The recent polarization of Quebec society gives new content to the radical anti-capitalist manifestos which are being presented to the delegates for adoption.

labor Challenge

#56 May 1972

76,500 sign to repeal abortion law

by KATE ALDERDICE

OTTAWA, May 15 — Women from across Canada presented a brief to the federal government today, demanding repeal of all the sections of the Criminal Code that deal with abortion to make abortion a personal decision for the woman involved.

The women, representing the six provincial chapters of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and the Quebec repeal movement, brought with them signatures of 76,500 Canadians in support of their demands. The signatures had been collected on petitions supporting private members' bills for repeal.

The delegation was headed by Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition. The provincial representatives were accompanied by Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church, Mary Lou Church of the Unitarians, and Andrew Brewin, NDP MP. They were met by Ray Perrault, parliamentary assistant to Bryce Mackasey, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, who deals with the status of women. The delegation also met with representatives of the NDP and the Conservative party.

The petitions were handed over to the government wrapped in red ribbons. The signatures represented the most ambitious and far-reaching campaign ever conducted by the abortion law repeal forces. The delegation's brief documented the situation under the so-called "liberalized laws," called on the government to repeal the laws, and to take several steps to make abortion available to every woman who wants it.

TORONTO, MAY 6. Demonstrators for repeal of anti-abortion laws converge on Ontario legislature.

photo by Mac

The presentation of the petition and brief in Ottawa culminated a week of activities May 1-6 across Canada. The Canadian actions were part of a worldwide Abortion Action Week. Marches and rallies took place in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, England and several cities in Europe.

In New York, 1,500 people took to the streets May 6 to protest the move by anti-abortion forces to throw out the state's liberalized laws. This action was instrumental in pressuring Governor Rockefeller to act to veto the bill the following week.

In Canada, the week of actions were the first coordinated activities on such a scale that the abortion law repeal movement has yet undertaken. In the final week of the campaign, the repeal petition went out into the streets, the schools, and

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the shopping plazas.

The week's activities included coordinated marches and rallies on May 6 in seven provincial centres across Canada — Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. Here are some highlights from those actions:

Vancouver — activists collected 15,000 signatures on the repeal petition. On hundred women and men took part in a rally on the courthouse steps May 6, which featured a trial of Prime Minister Trudeau. A papier-mache figure of Trudeau was found guilty of the death of women under the present laws, and was sentenced to repeal them immediately. Among the speakers who addressed the rally was Rosemary Brown, NDP provincial candidate, and representatives of the campus and high school abortion law repeal movements.

Edmonton — 7,500 signatures were collected on the petition and 50 women and men marched through the downtown area May 6, chanting, "Women Unite, Stand up and Fight, Safe Abortion is our Right!" Author Mary Van Stolk, and Chris Bearchell, from the University of Alberta student council were among the speakers.

Winnipeg — Women here collected a total of 7,700 signatures on the repeal petition; 4,000 of these were collected during Abortion Action Week itself! A big campaign in the high schools helped build the demonstration. Over 500 students in one high school signed the petition. The first high school referendum in Canada was held at Winnipeg's West Kildonan Collegiate during the week. Fifty-five percent of the students defied an intense campaign organized by anti-abortion forces and voted for repeal of the laws. Forty women and men demonstrated on the last day of the week's activities with a rally on the steps of the provincial legislature.

Montreal — Sixty-five French and English speaking women united in a demonstration May 6. Earlier in the week women travelled across the province to Quebec City to present a brief to the government. But Premier Bourassa, who was entertaining visitors from Maine, was too busy to meet with them. Instead they presented their brief to a Liberal party member of the National Assembly.

Ontario — One hundred women and men from several cities in Ontario marched through downtown Toronto chanting, "Premier Davis, Pierre Trudeau — Abortion Laws Have Got to Go!" The demonstration wound up at the provincial legislature where it was met by representatives of the Conservative government, the Liberal party and the NDP. The demonstrators presented a brief to the government demanding that it push for repeal of the federal laws and that it expand existing provincial facilities for performing abortions.

The NDP representative, Dr. Jan Dukszta (MLA Parkdale), supthe aims of the repeal movement and read from the NDP provincial program which calls for abortion on demand.

In a press conference following the presentation to the federal government on May 15, Lorna Grant pointed out the significance of the petition campaign: "At our founding last March," she said, "we decided to aim to collect 75,000 signatures by May 15. Response to our petition has been so tremendous that we have surpassed our goal. And this is only the beginning. We are now launching the second stage of the petition campaign with the aim of winning hundreds of thousands more signatures over the summer."

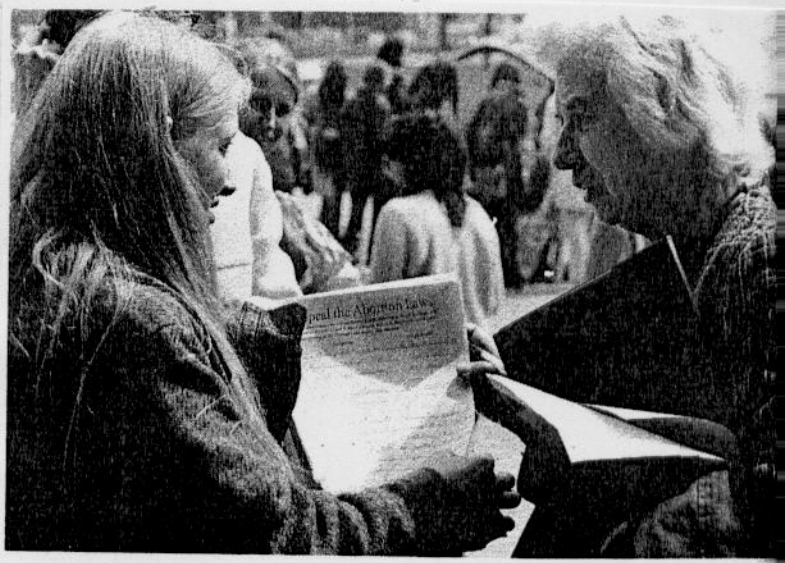

photo by MacInn

PETITIONING. Canadian Women's Coalition collected 76,5 signatures on petition for repeal of anti-abortion laws. At left Ontario coalition leader Gwen Taylor.

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Time's 'New Woman' aims to split feminists

Marlene Dixon

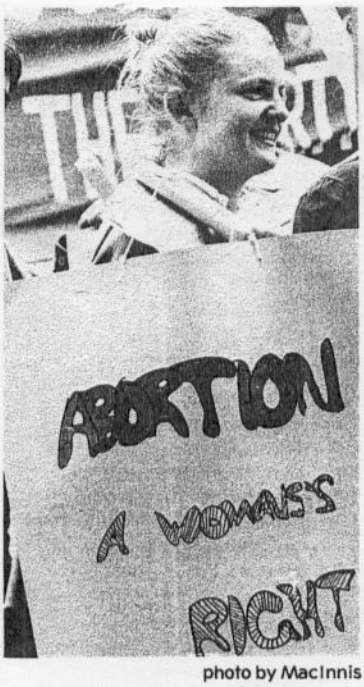

photo by MacInnis

Jacquie Henderson

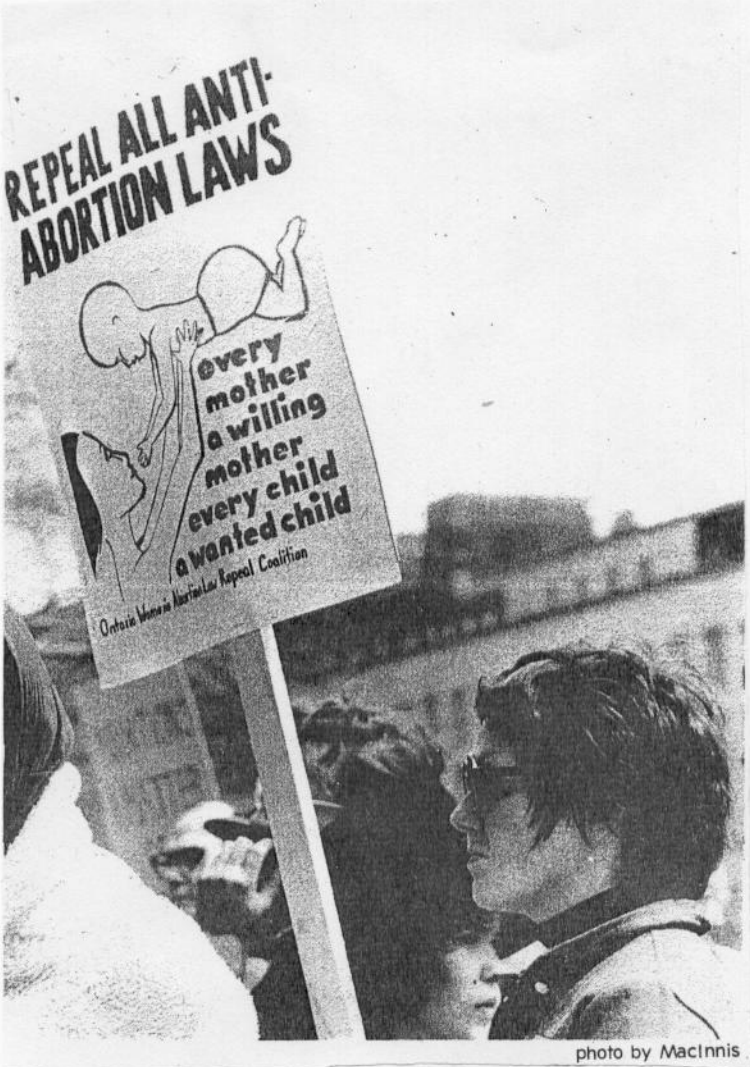
REPEAL ALL ANTI-ABORTION LAWS
every mother a willing mother every child a wanted child
Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition

photo by MacInnis

Time's 'New Woman' aims to split feminists

(From Labor Challenge May 1972)
by JACQUIE HENDERSON

Times have changed since the days when the newspapers and magazines slandered the women's liberation movement daily as being a crazy bunch of bra burners. Now women's liberation is supposedly respectable and harmless!

The new version of feminism is an attempt to detour the millions of women who are coming to the realization that it is not themselves that must be changed — their hair or deodorant — but rather it is this society that must be fundamentally altered. Having failed to halt the development of the women's liberation movement, these skillful defenders of the status quo, are attempting to divert and split the movement.

The men in power have put all they have into propagating this new myth about women. Many magazines have devoted special issues to the "new woman," the liberated woman who is out to change her life by changing herself. Women's magazines have been altered to present this new woman as their star. And "superwomen's libbers" like Gloria Steinman, editor of the slick U.S. magazine *Ms*, have been developed to speak for their cause.

Time Canada's special March 20 "New Woman" issue is part of this attempt to make women's liberation respectable. Most of its 82 pages are dominated by this theme. In the five pages it devotes to Canadian women, *Time* succinctly shows their version of the feminist movement in Canada. They quote Jan Steele, head of the Liberal party task force on women, to back up their position: "There are as many meanings of women's liberation as there are women. Canadians have a peculiar talent, not for watering down or diluting policies, but for making them less extreme."

Time calls this the Canadian "softening instinct."

Understandably *Time* tries to play down and even write off the real struggles of women that are challenging capitalism, its laws and institutions. They are forced to admit that in Canada "the feminists' most widely publicized crusade still lies in pushing for further reform of the abortion law" to make abortion available on demand. But they dismiss this struggle. They feel it is unimportant since, according to *Time*, Trudeau's opposition to it determines that it has slender chance for success.

Under the headline, "Dangers Ahead," *Time* quotes Marlene Dixon, the McGill University professor and former feminist who gained a lot of publicity for her declaration several months ago that "feminism is dead" in Canada. Dixon tells *Time* she is worried about the identification of the women's liberation movement with the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws.

Time quotes Dixon as attacking the movement for the right to abortion, saying, "You can forget about women's liberation if it is defined as anti-children and anti-family." Although Dixon calls herself a Marxist-Leninist and supports the Chinese revolution, her statement echoes the most reactionary opposition to women's rights.

The spokesmen for the church and state who fashion themselves as the defenders of human life try to portray the women who demand the right to control their own bodies and lives as "murderers." Dixon's attack is also designed to paint the struggle of women as anti-human. In this she purposely turns reality upside down. It is the women who are fighting for the right to abortion who are working for the theme, "Every mother a willing mother; Every child a wanted child." State-enforced motherhood doesn't help children any more than it helps women. Those who are so concerned about the fetus show remarkably little concern about the plight of children once they are born. And no wonder. Once they are born children are not the churches' or the government's responsibility — they are the mother's.

It is the opponents of a women's right to abortion that are anti-human. They are not interested in preserving life — only in preventing women from having full lives. In the process they don't care if they also deprive children from the chance to have a meaningful life.

But in the process of attacking it by appealing to the most ignorant prejudices against feminism, Dixon actually hits on an important reality of the feminist struggle: in its defense of the rights of women and children, the abortion repeal movement attacks the fundamental underpinnings of the family as it exists in capitalism. And it attacks them with good reason, for there is something basically wrong with the family today.

Far from being a harmonious institution based on love and affection, the family at present is a prison. All its members are tied to it by economic and social necessity rather than choice. Capitalism doesn't provide for its members. It shoves this overwhelming responsibility onto the frail family unit.

In doing so it determines that the family is one of the most basic institutions through which the social and economic inequities between different classes are perpetuated. Each family relies only on its own resources to feed, clothe and take care of all the needs of its members and is pitted in bitter competition with all other families to get the jobs, goods and services to carry out its tasks. For the vast majority, the working class families, this is a painful struggle in which human needs are sacrificed in the constant attempt to make ends meet.

And the woman is the backbone of the family.

The family defines women exclusively by their reproductive functions. Within the family the woman is limited to the narrow role of wife and mother. As such she provides the unpaid labor that is essential to the carrying out of the multitude of tasks assigned to the family. Women and children are economically dependent on the husband-father. Woman's role is not a matter of choice — it relies on forced motherhood for its continued existence. This not only makes the woman a victim of her biology, but it uses this as a rationale for paying her lower wages on the job and denying her equal educational opportunities. Her other roles must take a secondary place to her "natural" role.

It is this, the limiting of woman's role in life to her biological role, that the struggle for abortion law repeal is frontally challenging. Since women's second class status is based on this narrow definition of women, a victory in the struggle to give women a choice over when and if they

have children, would mark an important victory in the struggle of women to control their own lives. It would deal a heavy blow at the "natural inferiority of women" and in doing so would also shake up the family and pose the question of new kinds of human relationships based on choice and affection rather than economic and social force.

This is the key thing that makes the abortion struggle so powerful. Just as lack of control over our bodies is essential to our oppression, gaining control is essential to our liberation. And that upsets the very foundation of the family.

No wonder the ruling class is so firm in its opposition to the abortion law repeal movement! They maintain their oppressive system by presenting the family as an eternal, ever-present structure through human history.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. For the greater part of human history, before the development of class society, the family was not the basic unit of society. The clan, organized and led by women, was responsible for caring for all its members. Individuals weren't isolated off to care for their own offspring, the whole clan assumed this responsibility and all others. There was no concept of competition between the members of the society for its goods; communal property relations prevailed and every member of society had equal access to the clan's wealth.

This was the kind of society the white men from Europe found when they "discovered" this continent. And it was the kind of society that existed around the world before the relatively recent development of class society with its competitive patriarchal family.

In challenging women's "natural" role in the family, the feminist movement, focused in the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws, is challenging one of the pillars which uphold capitalism. This movement poses the possibility that the family doesn't always have to exist as an economic unit and the necessity for society to take responsibility for its members as it did in early matriarchal society.

The abortion repeal struggle is the opening shot in the struggle for human liberation — a new kind of society which can free not just a few individuals, a "liberated couple", but everyone; which can build new relationships between the sexes, new relationships between parents and children. This is what the hue and cry against abortion is about. It is not that the abortion movement is anti-human. It is that it poses the need to replace capitalism with a human society — socialism.

This powerful anticapitalist dynamic of the movement upsets Trudeau and *Time*. That is why they have a strategy to try to hold back this struggle by splitting women away from it and channeling them into safer directions — safer for the ruling class, that is.

Time expresses this strategy with all the subtle skill of Madison Avenue. And the Church is hard on its heels. A few weeks before *Time* came out, a representative of the Catholic Church spilled the beans in a column in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* March 11. Rev. Monseignor Colin Campbell worries about the fact that women who are joining the women's liberation movement

are turned off the church. The only solution he can see to the problem is to try to split the feminist movement and support the wing that doesn't support abortion on demand.

He says, "What is the solution to this impasse? Perhaps the rapprochement will be to work with that wing of the women's lib movement that does not support this policy (abortion on demand) ..."

This pressure from anti-abortion forces is what Dixon and other women are succumbing to when they abandon the abortion repeal struggle. They are playing right into the hands of the ruling class which maintains its privileged position at our expense only by dividing up the oppressed, and pitting them against each other. Its main principle is divide and rule.

Women like Marlene Dixon will have to think carefully and determine where they stand in this struggle. Because the present rulers are sorely in need of women to mouth their anti-women lies.

The women's liberation movement has its own dynamic. Women are responding to the proud chant: "Women unite! Stand up and fight — Safe abortion is our right!" We are out for human liberation and nothing is going to stop us.

labor Challenge #56 May 1973

Ontario campaign to defend Waffle

by JOHN STEELE

Waffle supporters across Ontario have launched an Ontario-wide campaign against the May 6 decision of the Ontario NDP Executive to move to disband the Waffle in the party.

The executive accepted the recommendations of a party commission that toured the Province composed of Gordon Vichert, John Brewin and Gerald Caplan that the Waffle disband or get out of the NDP. The Provincial Council meets in Orillia June 24-25 to deal with the recommendation.

A Waffle statement released May 8 condemned the report as "an attempt on the part of some to turn the clock back to the days of non-debate in the party." The statement explains how the Waffle as an expression of the current radicalization in the NDP, has been part of the fabric of the NDP since 1969. It ends with a powerful appeal: "What must be made absolutely clear is that the report, if adopted, will become the instrument for a purge of Waffle supporters from the NDP. To all the thousands of party members who see this as a disaster for the party the time is NOW to become involved. The Waffle group will not disband and give up its efforts to contribute to the party and the Canadian socialist movement. Party members who wish to avoid a purge should urge their ridings and affiliated locals to oppose the executive recommendation."

The West Metro Waffle is initiating a debate for June 4 between the two sides sponsored by ridings, riding executives and individual New Democrats. One

STEPHEN LEWIS. Ontario NDP leader set off witchhunt attack on Waffle group.

hundred persons at a May 9 East Metro Waffle meeting decided to build a broadly sponsored rally for all New Democrats opposed to the executive recommendation and adopted the idea of circulating a petition throughout the party. Waffle leader Jim Laxer told the meeting there was "no room for compromise on the right of the Waffle to exist."

As the June 24-25 deadline nears, a so-called compromise is being circulated through the party by a number of leading New Democrats, including former provincial secretary John Harney, candidate Bob Beardesly and Desmond Morton. The compromise would give the Waffle "affiliated status" — that is delegated representation. It would give the NDP brass the right to demand that NDPers with criticisms, particularly those with socialist views, leave the party and apply for affiliation. In the case of the Waffle this means up to a third of the NDP membership. Clearly this "solution" cannot be acceptable to the Waffle which exists as a left caucus in all sections of the party.

A March 13-14 Ontario Waffle Steering Committee meeting in London mapped out a province-wide campaign. All riding presidents and Council members are to be canvassed before the June council meeting. Waffle speakers and material are to be offered to all ridings. Where the Waffle case will not be explained adequately the Waffle will initiate meetings and invite party members to them.

A petition was launched throughouth the party and affiliated union locals. It reads: "We the undersigned members of the Ontario NDP or its affiliated unions, are opposed to the Provincial Executive's recommendation that the Waffle group disband or be expelled from the party. We therefore ask the Provincial Council of the party, to vote against executive's recommendation at its next meeting June 24-25 in Orillia."

The Waffle is also circulating to NDP members a tabloid size printed statement addressed to the ONDP executive replying to Stephen Lewis' March 20 attack on the Waffle and the May 6 ONDP executive statement.

Statements and petitions can be obtained from Ontario Waffle, Box 339 Station "E" Toronto. Funds are urgently needed.

labor Challenge #56 May 1972

Waffle replies to Lewis

The following are excerpts from a statement issued by the Ontario Waffle at a press conference May 4. It was originally presented to the Vichert committee on April 27 in Toronto.

As Mel Watkins explained to the press conference, thousands of copies of Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis' speech to the provincial council attacking the Waffle "have been printed up and mailed to party members and affiliated union locals. At the council meeting, we were given no reasonable opportunity to reply. We have formally asked the party to distribute our brief — and others cirtical of Lewis' position; our request has been ignored.

"We are therefore releasing it here today as a means of communicating with the membership of the ONDP, and with the people of Ontario and Canada who have a vital stake in what happens to the NDP."

The Ontario Party is presently in a grave crisis, the most serious of its ten year history. Tensions have always existed within the party; indeed they are inevitable in any democratic party that must relate to changing circumstances. They have been more evident of late for a number of reasons: the existence of the Waffle as an organixed left caucus; the increasing influence within the Party of official union leadership supported by block voting at meetings of Council and Conventions; statements of an anti-socialist nature, particularly explicit opposition to public ownership, by powerful persons within the Party; and the weak performance of the party in the provincial election which has created doubts as to the relevance of the Party's policies.

These tensions have now been escalated in a massive, if not irresponsible, way by the leader of the ONDP with the apparent support of official union leadership. . .

The current crisis in the Ontario Party exists because of profound changes that are taking place within Canadian society that are giving rise to new debates within the Canadian left. Three issues stand out: rising American domination and the need for Canadian independence; the independentiste movement in Quebec and the need for a new bi-national alliance, and important new movements for democratic change among women, youth and national minorities.

For the NDP as the party of working people, there is an opportunity for political work that has not existed since the 1930's. The Great Depression created the CCF; the 1970's can transform the NDP into a genuinely socialist party. A time of crisis for Canadians is necessarily a time of debate and of ideological struggle for the NDP. A minimum requirement is that debate not be stifled within the Ontario party.

The Waffle movement itself is a product of these developments. It sprang up spontaneously in 1969 to articulate the case for an independent socialist Canada and it has continued to exist because of grassroots support. It is a structured grouping. But no grouping can exist, can do things, can operate democratically, unless it has mailing lists, steering committees meetings and money.

To deny the right of a group to exist — and that has apparently now become the issue in the minds of some people with respect to the Waffle — is to deny the right of collective and effective expression of the particular views shared by the people who make up the group. It is a pretense to argue that all groupings of opinion are welcome to exist provided that organizing is not done to give expression to such ideas. No political idea can exist in a relevant fashion without a form through which it can be expressed...

Unions today are under sustained attack from corporations and governments, at a time when workers desperately need whatever protection unions can give them. The attack by union leaders on the Waffle, now officially joined by Stephen Lewis, is surely a misdirection of energy. . .

The list of Waffle activities contains nothing that could not have been done by a party leadership and executive that was willing to pursue the extra-parliamentary dimension of socialist politics; in that sense the Waffle could be said to exist by default. Also, the list of our activities clearly shows that Lewis' attempt to portray the Waffle as anti-union is simply inaccurate. Our record of work with union locals in Ontario in the part two years — and the number of rank-and-file unionists who are Waffle supporters — are sufficient refutation of that.

Nor is it possible, as Lewis attempts in his speech, to distinguish between structures and ideology and then proceed to make structure the issue. The Waffle exists to put forward a distinctive ideological position shared by its supporters. That position had considerable support among the membership of the Party, as was clearly evidenced at the last provincial convention, but is strongly opposed by powerful people occupying leadership positions within the Party and within affiliated unions. . .

The question now before the Ontario Party is whether the debate on critical ideological matters can continue, or whether it will be stifled by raising the false cry of structures and by crushing the Waffle and the ideology it enunciates by administrative means. . .

It is a minimum necessity that no action be taken by Provincial Council or Executive to alter the status of the Waffle within the Ontario NDP. A full convention is planned for this autumn. A matter of such grave importance to all members of the Party should be dealt with only by the highest governing body of the Party.

We will fight for our right to remain as an organized left caucus within the party. The Waffle was born within the NDP for good reason and it is to the benefit of all concerned that we should remain within the NDP. Our commitment is to revitalize and recreate the Party. We stand for an independent socialist Canada. Our hope and our strategy is to win the NDP over to that position. We see no reason why that option should not be kept alive within the New Democatic Party for its day will surely come.

Reformist vs. revolutionary strategy
Behind moves to suppress NDP left (Y-R)
(From Labor Challenge, May 1972)

by DICK FIDLER

Why have the NDP leadership moved so decisively to suppress the party's left-wing "Waffle" group? What does the anti-Waffle campaign indicate about the nature of the NDP and its leadership? What does it mean for the future of the NDP and the perspectives for socialists in the party?

The charge that Waffle supporters constitute a "party within the party" is clearly aimed at all members who organize inside the party to win the NDP to their views. The leadership is attacking the very character of the New Democratic Party as a democratic organization controlled by and in the interests of the working people of Canada.

The NDP leadership in fact has a long history of such attempts to suppress dissent within its ranks. There have been repeated purges of socialists alleged to be members of the League for Socialist Action or its fraternal stdent organization, the Young Socialists.

Why these repeated attacks on internal party democracy? No one can seriously pretend the NDP benefits from witch-hunts in its midst. Canadian workers have every interest in ensuring that their political party enjoys the fullest democracy. The launching of the New Democratic Party in 1961 was itself a big step forward for the working class toward extending and deepening the struggle for democracy in Canada. By breaking from capitalist party politics, and moving out into independent labor political action, we took a decisive move toward the eventual establishment of workers and farmers governments in Ottawa and the provinces — to wrest power from the tiny but powerful capitalist ruling class that controls this country, and continually threatens and violates basic democratic procedures and freedoms.

The NDP is essentially a process by which the working class moves out independently on the political stage, develops political self-confidence and leadership through its own experience, and tests in action differing programs and leaderships.

But organization of the class independent of the capitalist parties requires the development of a program that is politically independent of the capitalists, that expresses the broad, historical interests of the working class — an anti-capitalist, socialist program.

The NDP does not have such a program. Its program aims only to reform capitalism, not abolish it. This program reflects the political outlook of the bureaucracy that has dominated the trade unions and the NDP since the latter's founding.

The social origins and role of the bureaucracy's thinking was explained by Leon Trotsky, who based his observations on a wealth of experience in the international working class and revolutionary socialist movement. Under monopoly capitalism, Trotsky noted, "the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of

profiting by the competition between the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. . .

"In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war."

========BOX BEGINS ==========

Photo caption:</i>
AT FEDERAL NDP CONVENTION. Waffle leader Mel Watkins prepares to address April 1971 convention. The new radicalization is expressed in the NDP through the widespread sympathy with the Waffle's positions for Canadian independence, Quebec self-determination and women's liberation.

=========BOX ENDS==========-

The politics of the trade union and NDP bureaucracies are ndistinguishable. They are, to use Mel Watkin’s expression, "like Siamese twins joined at the head." The labor-NDP bureaucracy, acting in tandem, have every interest in blocking the advance of revolutionary or even just radical ideas in the party, as in the unions. And because the free play of contesting ideas would encourage the development of a socialist program they are inveterate, bitter opponents of democratic practices within the party and trade unions.

In defense of their own social base, the labor movement, they have been obliged by the hostility of the capitalists to move out and organize the workers independently on the political plane. But they are a block to the development of the party along the road of independent anti-capitalist politics. This is the contradictory role of the workers' bureaucracy.

The charges against left dissidents are normally organizational ("party within the party"), but their basis is always political. During the 1960s, members of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière were witch-hunted and expelled because of their support for the Cuban revolution, their opposition to the NATO and NORAD imperialist alliances, and their early active opposition to the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution.

Today, the leadership's target has broadened to include the Waffle group, which expresses within the party the powerful and growing influence of the radicalizing extra-parliamentary mass movements as they reach into the NDP. The movements against U.S. imperialist control of Canada, for Quebec self-determination and independence, for women's liberation and student-faculty control, all strike at the very underpinnings of capitalist rule in Canada. Their whole dynamic is profoundly revolutionary.

It is natural that the radicalization flows toward and into the NDP, to link up with the politicized working class. But it is equally natural that these radicalizing forces will conflict with the liberal-reformist concepts that meaningful social change can come about through parliament and the other institutions of capitalist rule — the concepts that permeate the thinking of the NDP and labor leadership.

How is this bureaucratic leadership to be combated and replaced? What kind of organization, what kind of program are required? These are questions being debated today by a considerable stratum of the left in and around the Waffle. From the NDP's inception, the LSA-LSO, which brought together in 1961 the revolutionary socialist, Trotskyist forces across Canada, have had a clear understanding of both the progressive significance of the NDP as Canada's labor party, and the necessity for a firm, all-out struggle to build a socialist leadership to lead the coming Canadian revolution.

They have combined this understanding of the NDP's vital role in the political development of the Canadian working class with their intervention in and leadership of the radicalizing mass movements. Members of the LSA-LSO and the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes have played a leading role in building the anti-imperialist movements in Canada — against U.S. aggression in Indochina and for Quebec independence. They are in the forefront of the mass action wing of the women's liberation movement, the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws. On the campuses the Young Socialists play a leading role in building revolutionary cadres among radicalizing youth.

The NDP is not, cannot be, a sufficient vehicle for those who seek a fundamental anti-capitalist transformation of Canadian society. The NDP is not and cannot be a revolutionary party. As the class struggle in Canada continues to sharpen, we will see a deepening of the conflict between the reformist strategy and outlook of the present trade union leadership and the needs of the workers' struggles, which tend more and more to go beyond the bounds of capitalist legality and the "norms" of negotiation and compromise.

This conflict will not be confined to the trade unions; on the contrary, it will receive its sharpest expression in the New Democratic Party. This is why socialists must be in the NDP.

But the entire experience of the international working class movement teaches that for the success of socialism the workers need something more than the amorphous, heterogenous, all-inclusive party which the NDP, as the party of the trade unions, must be. What is needed is a mass revolutionary party with a consistent anti-capitalist program and strategy, a party that wages uncompromising struggle against the parties of capital on all levels, electoral and "extra-parliamentary" and that utilizes all means necessary to build the self-confidence and strength and revolutionary commitment of the working people. Such a party must be a part of the international revolutionary workers movement.

Seen in this framework there is no contradiction between working to build the revolutionary party, and enthusiastic support and participation in the NDP.

When the revolutionary socialists raise the demand "Win the NDP to Socialism," they do not express illusions that the NDP can become a revolutionary party. They are expressing their conviction that the struggle for a revolutionary program and leadership will be expressed within the NDP for a whole period to come. The LSA-LSO, the nucleus of the revolutionary party, is actively engaged in that task. While the NDP expresses the present of the Canadian working class, the LSA-LSO represents its future.

labor Challenge #56 May 1972

Foreign ownership policy - a farce

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

"A charade ... that is not going to be believed by anyone who is concerned about Canada."

That was how NDP leader David Lewis summed up Revenue Minister Herbert Gray's legislative proposals on foreign takeovers tabled in the House of Commons May 3. Outside Parliament economist and Waffle leader Mel Watkins underscored Lewis: "This policy is so bad and so pitiful that there isn't a single person in Canada who is going to be fooled by it ... it's a joke."

Only the financial barons from coast to coast, particularly from the giant multinational corporations and the banks, found Gray's modest proposals worthy of applause.

What do the Gray measures amount to?

The bill would give the federal cabinet the power to block foreign takeovers of Canadian companies with assets of more than $250,000 or annual gross revenues of more than $3 million. The bill does not list any specific guidelines which the Cabinet and the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce could use to block or permit foreign takeovers.

But that is only part of the farce. The proposed screening measures apply only to future takeovers. They do not touch existing U.S.-controlled firms or their future expansion. And they have nothing to say about U.S. firms establishing Canadian subsidiaries to get around Cabinet screening.

And there is really nothing new in screening. As Trade Minister Pepin has pointed out, much of foreign investment is already being screened by various government departments.

So far, government screening and the government's pretended "concern" has accomplished less than nothing — statistics on the number of mergers with foreign owned or controlled companies show that foreign takeovers have dramatically increased since 1968:

year	number of takeovers
1967	85
1968	163
1969	168
1970	163
1971	130

In 1969, the last year for which statistics are available, foreign corporations controlled 57.4 percent of Canadian manufacturing, 66.4 percent of mining, 21.4 percent of retailing. And in more lucrative areas, U.S. control was much higher. Oil was 90 percent foreign-owned; transport equipment, 86.4 percent; chemicals, 80.4 percent; and machinery, 73.3 percent.

And foreign control has increased greatly since then. These critical facts led the authors of the Gray report to warn the government that screening only new takeovers would not be enough.

But the Trudeau government is not interested in restraining further U.S. control. If anything, the whole exercise served as a smokescreen for the real government policy — cementing the bonds of their junior partnership with the U.S. capitalist class.

Through a policy of subsidies to the giant multinational corporations, through major tax concessions, and through manipulation of tariffs, the Liberal government actually encourages increasing U.S. investment.

Trudeau and the Liberal party are committed to the capitalist system and to the economic policy that chains the means of economic growth in Canada to the big corporations. Trudeau argues that Canada needs foreign investment to develop. "The alternative," he says, "would be to have a fall in our standard of living (and) less jobs for Canadians ..."

But what role have the U.S. investors played — givers or takers?

U.S. "investors" have bought out this country with Canadian money! In 1968, for example, almost 95 percent of the total new direct "U.S." investment was actually Canadian funds — profits and depreciation allowances deducted from the product of Canadian workers and funds raised on the Canadian money market.

From 1960 to 1968 the annual total of interest, dividends, royalties and management fees sent to the U.S. rose steadily from $450 million to over $1 billion. During the swinging sixties Canada suffered a net drain of capital to the U.S. of a staggering $2,625,000,000!

Literally speaking, U.S. corporations are not "investors," but divesters. Whatever initial capital they invested has been paid back many times over.

Trudeau's argument that the Canadian "standard of living would fall to zero" without U.S. investment and that Canada's future development requires U.S. capital doesn't hold water.

Canadian economist Stephen

photo by Jeff Whit

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IS ANSWER TO FOREIGN CONTROL. Here Toronto Waffle groups demonstrate for nationalization of Ryerson Press, sold out to U.S. corporation by United Church.

Hymer — a member of the 1967 Watkins task force on foreign ownership took up that argument in an article in the May 4 Toronto Star.

"(Such) development means more investment. In a private enterprise system this means giving further incentives (i.e. high profit) to capital in order to induce it to invest. And in an economy which the large multinational (corporation) dominates, this means more foreign investment.

"All attempts to control the system flounder on this rock. Whenever trouble arises and the economy slows down, the Canadian government turns to the Canadian people and asks them to restrain wage demands and accept lower incomes in order to generate profits and thereby investment for growth. "The government then turns to the capitalists — the large multinational corporations and the one percent of the American population that owns them ... and asks them to accept higher profits or interest rates in return for investing."

Hence, Hymer points out, "The game goes on; Canada remains at least as dependent at the end of every play as it was at the beginning."

The other side of such distorted capitalist development is the wretched poverty and backwardness which many regions of Canada have been condemned to. The underdevelopment and unemployment in the Maritimes, Quebec and other "hinterlands" are a direct result of the investment priorities of the multinational corporations. They chase the sectors where the biggest profits are to be found.

Trudeau has no alternative to the increasing dependence of Canada on U.S. investment. Neither does any other capitalist or pro-capitalist element in Canada.

The only alternative to growing U.S. domination is to nationalize the huge centers of economic decision-making in Canada — the multinational corporations — to bring them under public ownership and control, subject to country-wide democratic planning of the economy.

David Lewis reminded Canadians of an obvious fact of political life — that the Canadian government and the Liberal party are not prepared

"to do anything at all to control the 95 corporations that provide their funds.

"Unless we have the imagination and the courage to take over a large part of what is now American owned," Lewis stated, "Canada's future will be sold out."

Lewis' solution is vague. But it is clear that the only concrete solution is nationalization. The Canadian people do not have to submit to the growing U.S. takeover of their country and its economy which should be theirs. But in order to stop the sellout, the capitalist political parties and the capitalist class are going to have to be dislodged from power.

That is the task and the challenge to the New Democratic Party and the working people of Canada. The only Canada which can have meaningful independence will be a socialist Canada.

labor Challenge #56 May 1972

Natives demand James Bay land rights

by JACK RIDOUT

Leaders of Quebec's Native population recently launched a court action in Montreal Superior Court, seeking an injunction against the construction of the $10 billion James Bay hydro-electric development.

The 130,000 square mile area around five rivers that flow into James Bay — the Notaway, Broadback, Rupert, Eastmain, and La Grande — is the proposed site for the project. About 7,000 members of the Cree nation who live, fish, and hunt in the area will be dirctly affected by the development. The Quebec Association of Indians pointed out last July that these people will lose their livlihood, see their heritage wiped out, and practically be massacred.

Billie Diamond, 21 year-old chief of the Crees at Rupert House told the Montreal Star: "This is really Indian land. The Indians of the whole province should stand up for their rights." The land, formerly controlled by the Hudson's Bay Co. was "given" to Quebec in 1912 by Ottawa, on the condition that the Quebec government reach agreement with the Native peoples before doing anything with the land.

But, as Diamond explained, "The Indians have never been informed about this project ... Hydro-Quebec never discussed this with me or with any other Indian. They just came in and are taking away the land that belongs to us."

Diamond's claim that the land belongs to the Native peoples is backed in part by the Dorion inquiry on Quebec's territorial integrity. The commission's recent report found that the Native peoples have "real and incontestible rights" to the former Hudson's Bay Co. land, since when the area now known as Nouveau-Quebec was annexed by Quebec in 1912, the Indian title was not relinquished.

Despite the Native peoples' legitimate claims, the project is bulldozing on. Already $60 million has been eaten up by roads projects which are laying the framework for the area's massive reshaping.

Pierre Nadeau, James Bay Development Corporation chairman, not impressed by the Natives' claims, offered them his friendly advice in a recent interview, stating in effect that they were lucky to be confronted with a "choice" in how their future was determined. The choice, of course, is one between an attempt to maintain their way of life under drastically altered circumstances, or to opt for the superior "planning" of white capitalist society.

The extent to which the Natives' lives will be uprooted has received considerable attention through the court action, feature articles in the press, and by demonstrations such as the March action of Trent U. Native students confronting Ottawa, which was picked up by the media across the country. Even a government task force reported that the impact on the population is "potentially alarming."

Other criticims of the project have been made too — what does it mean for Quebec's long-term power requirements, in relation to alternative thermal and nuclear generating units? and what effect will it have on the environment? The second question is crucial from the Native point of view, as Diamond says.

"The Hydro project is going to affect trapping and the game the Indians kill. Indians won't be able to fish and hunt. Most likely there will be pollution here. At the moment we get our water directly from the river."

Chief Max Gros-Louis, secretary-treasurer of the Quebec Association of Indians, said that efforts to block the James Bay project should be supported by Native peoples across Canada. "The James Bay territory is one where our property rights are the most certain and this time there is no question of giving in."

labor Challenge #56 May 1972

Editor: DICK FIDLER
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

Fund drive victory launches 12-page paper

Thanks! You, our readers, made the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive the largest and most successful ever.

We asked you for a total of $21,000 to make Labor Challenge a 12-page paper, better able to lead the struggle for socialism.

We got what we asked for — and more. You sent us a total of $24,316.72, more than $3000 more than we thought we could get.

Look at the scoreboard below. As you can see, five areas went well over the top. Two more met their pledge. Other areas are still collecting pledges, and there is still more money to come in. Special laurels go to Vancouver Labor Challenge supporters, who skyrocketed $1000 over their pledge.

Now we have to produce what you paid for. And here it is — the first issue of our regular 12-page paper. We have plenty of ideas to develop and improve our appearance, so watch for changes and new features in the next few issues.

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Vancouver	7,200	8,200.00
Edmonton	1,000	659.15
Saskatoon	200	203.00
Winnipeg	250	250.00
Ottawa	100	180.00
Sudbury	300	330.00
Hamilton	200	35.00
St. Catharines	100	---
Kitchener-Waterloo	100	115.00
Toronto	12,400	13,352.00
Orillia	150	150.00
General	1,100	842.57
TOTAL	**23,100**	**24,316.72**

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TOPIC:

NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM

The Views of Lenin and Trotsky.

LENIN'S VIEWS ON NATIONALISM — class leader: PAM DINEEN

KEY READING: "What Strategy for a French Quebec" -Collen Levis in April 10,1972 Labor Challemge.
"In Defense of Quebec Nationalism" - Robert Dumont in April 24,1972 Labor Challenge.
"Lenin's Real Views on Nationalism" -Tony Thomas in January 1972 International Socialist Review.
The Right of Nations to Self-Determination - V.I.Lenin

DISCUSSION: 1) What do Marxists mean by "nation", "right to self-determination" ?
2) What does it mean to say that the demand for self-determination is a "bourgeois-democratic" demand ?
3) Why haven't nationalist demands become superseded by "socia list" demands ?
4) Lenin said we must "know how to utilize every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis". But how do revolutionaries assess the social signifigance of the different popular movements? What place does the national question have in the revolutionary process?

TROTSKY'S VIEWS ON NATIONALISM — class leader: DICK FIDLER

KEY READING: Black Nationalism and Socialism - a pamphlet by G.Breitman & G.Novack.
"The Problem of Nationalities" - in History of the Russian Revolution by L.Trotsky Vol III pages 36-61.
The Ukrainian Question - in Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-40.
Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self Determination-a pamphlet.

DISCUSSION: 1) Under what conditions do revolutionary Marxists call for the independence of an oppressed nation?
2) What is the role of Nationalism in:
a) colonial and semi-colonial countries
b) adva nced capitalist countries
c) workers states
3) Lenin said that Marxists should not call for the defense of the national culture. Does this mean it is non-Leninist to support the struggle of the language movement in Quebec to prote ct the French language and Quebecois culture from destruction.
4) In discussing Catalonian nationalism in Spain, Trotsky said workers' nationalism is the "envelope of their social indignation". How does this apply to the nationalism of Quebecois workers?
5) Why does the Communist Party -which has traditiona lly supported Ca nadian nationalism- so vigorously oppose the Quebecois nationalist movement?
6) What is the position of the Canadian Party of Labor on national struggles? Discuss in relation to Bangla Desh, Quebec, and the Black struggle.

June 27, 1972
334 Queen Street West
Toronto

Saskatoon

Dear Maria;

I came in from the first weekend affair at Camp Poundmaker with your letter in hand with instructions as to which flite to survey--worked out a lift with a cómrade who lives in the direction of the airport--then I asked him what the date was. It proved to be Sunday the 18th. But you were going to be there Saturday the 17th.

Well I couldn't have made it---I am very much involved in the camp. And this year for the first time we are carrying a real operation. Five cómrades agreed not to take jobs and go out there and work ón the camp for food and bed. The first weekend-I just had to go --they expected me to. This weekend coming George Novak is coming up for two lectures on the Second and First internationals. But I think I will not go to that as I am away behind in several projects that I promised comrades to work on.

So I havent written you since returning from Europe. That is almost a full year ago. Hard to beléve . Lot's of progress but also a few setbacks--including our Saskatoon project. Joe has really moved into Ottawa--he has a job but it is a poor one. But he will be able to give the operation there a lift--and being in the center of protest against the federal government he will provide a lift for all our operations thatgo that way. Knowing French he should be of help not only to Hull but also Montreal. I was in Montreal this weekend--well really about 18 hours--overnight on the bus down there, the day -then overnight on the bud back. Joe has been down to Montreal--it is only about 3 hours from Ottawa and they tell me his French is excellent ~~xhxarynnesmxmx~~We are anticipating that with his experience he will be albe to really reinforce the leading comrades in Montreal. Alice seems fine and very busy around the headquarters--she is probably helping with the documentation. I havent heard anything about Monica, or Ulrich ...but I gather that they are headed where we already have an operation and where we feel that we have i mediate possibilites that are slipping by. That doesn't mean that there aren't possibilities in Saskatoon but I think that it is more urgent that where we have a situation where we have a few able comrades able to move that we reinforce more immediately promising areas like Winnipeg and Edmonton.

Well that leaves you and Jerry holding the fort. Not good. But not so bad since both of you have areas of work--Jerry, the union right on his place of work and you seem to be well able to take initiatives. I have scanned through the two documents that you sent me and they strike me as very good. I am hoping that you will write up something for the paper on the conference you attended . Why not write Jacquie Henderson who is moving in as editor and tell her what you think you could do with this incident so she can decided as to its relative value

and what space etc there is fo it. There are a lot of litle problems--I would suppos suppose it would have to be written in a somewhat detached way so that it does not lead directly to you and [illegible] muck up your working relations. I certainly do hope that Jerry and you feel that you can hold the fort, carry on [illegible] and take advantage of opportunities that come up. Are you getting a modest buddle of the paper for use in the NDP, that constituency association you were working in with some effect last time we were talking together. I see that the Saskatchewan Waff Waffle is taking protest actions against the right wings moves [illegible] on the Ontario Waffle. You know it wont be long before we head back into Saskatoon--a most important Prairie city.

I am glad to hear that you are writing up something on the movem nts history in Saskatoon. It sounds like it is for the internal bulletin--the convention bulletin. I am looking for ard to seeing it. [illegible]

comradely

Ross

I hear that Heidi is coming through with flying colours in Edmonton. Everyone appears to have been impressed with the May Day affair which in a way summed up the progress of the last year. Do you hear from her or from Joe Burki. He wrote to me about the banquet--he was really inspired by the type we are attracting.

<!--W15a-1972-06Jun27.rtf ocr & correx jd Jan22/15 -->

VI. REPLY OF ROSS DOWSON TO THE DAVIS, OFFLEY, TAILLON ETC. STATEMENT, JUNE 27, 1982

June 27, 1982
To the United Secretariat of the FI *(Fourth International, in Europe --ed.)*

Dear Comrades.

We have recently received a carbon copy of a letter from our Halifax comrade Will **0.** enclosing a carbon copy of an appeal to the United Secretariat signed by 3 Halifax members of the Unified Tendency of the Canadian section and 7 Y.S. tendency supporters.

The .appeal asks that you establish a commission to "immediately investigate the internal democratic life ot the section" and that you "prepare a report for the upcoming congress of tne section". They further ask that you "examine the politics of the section as well as the democracy of its internal life," and they make this request as they say "fully cognizant of the fact that the commission may draw conclusions which we will not fully agree with."

Despite tne expressed hope of those making tne appeal, the political committee ot tne Canadian section in no way supports this appeal**.**

Without geting into the many points they raise, in order to assure you tnat everything is being handled within all tne norms and democratic traditions of the Canadian section and tne FI we would comment on a few.

Uuite the contrary to point 2 all the documents but one of 6 received trom tne tendency have been publisned. This one document from comrade Bourhis is in the process of being translated into English. The otner five are contained in Bulletin No 3 which you have of. AS you will note from tne cover it was delayed a few days trom the June 1st formal opening of the discussion pending receipt of the June 12 letter from a comrade who is acting as their corresponding secretary. Since the tive statements were circulated several months ago to all CC members Fredericton supporter Terry H-S withdrew from the tendency and we sought clarification on this and other matters in a letter to them dated June 6.

AS you will note trom our Political Committee minutes of June **7** which comrade Bourhis ot the tendency received a copy of, contrary to point 9 a tour to permit the tendency to address all branches and locals is being arranged. A circular went out on June 20 to all branches and locals asking tnem for information so that the schedule of such a tour could be worked out tnat would be suitable to the tendency.

..... ____ With regards to points 3 and 4. We do not understand how those making the appeal have concluded that "no time has been set aside at conventions for the discussion ot appeals", as there has not yet been even a discussion on the agenda. Of course ample time will be allocated to this -- we are confident that the convention will see to that. With regards to the appeal materials of the Halifax comrades against their suspensions which you will recall were lifted last fall -- in a letter addressed to them on June 20 we pointed out to them that the material they asked to be published was of a truly massive scale, including among other items almost the entire transcript of the hearings which were nours long and mucn o1 which in our opinion are not too relevant to the appeal. We suggested that they make a selection from the 39 items or write up something of a specific appeal character -- or do both. We are waiting to hear from them.

We are fully cognizant of the tact, that because of the limited support that the tendency has been revealed to have in the section so far, and the widely dispersed character of this support, if the formal rules of representation were applied it would get little voice at the convention.

You will recall that at our last congress we took special measures to assure that the Montreal tendency of that time got a good hearing. You can be sure tnat we will make sure that similar arrangements will be made for tnis convention. Nothing will stand in the way of a full political discussion and resolution of the differences that exist in the Canadian section.

With revolutionary greetings
Ross Dowson, Executive secretary of the LSA/LSO

Why Quebec went on strike

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Quebec labor leaders freed

'We will fight to finish'

by ROBERT DUMONT

MAY 25 — The presidents of Quebec's three labor bodies were freed from jail May 23 pledging a "fight to the finish" against the Bourassa Liberal government. They returned to a labor movement polarized as never before in the wake of the massive strike upsurge of over 100,000 workers that shook Quebec for over a week.

Marcel Pepin of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) and Yvon Charbonneau of the Corporation of Quebec Teachers (CEQ) have decided to appeal the one-year sentences for contempt of court that they received for urging their members to ignore strike-breaking injunctions during the strike in April of 210,000 workers in the public sector.

The government had earlier rejected widespread demands for amnesty and the labor leaders' application for day parole to allow them to conduct union business.

The big labor upsurge which erupted when they were jailed was called off May 17 by leaders of the labor bodies' Common Front, on promises from the Bourassa government that it would release the labor leaders and negotiate a new labor contract with the public workers rather than impose settlement terms through compulsory arbitration under Bill 19.

Also released May 23 were 31 local union officials who had already launched appeals. They had begun serving their prison sentences the previous week in a show of support for the three central leaders.

The labor leaders said a "major factor" in their decision to appeal their sentences and apply for bail was a movement now underway to split the 235,000-member CSN.

Three members of the CSN's five-man executive have announced they are launching a rival "non-political" federation. CSN vice-president Paul-Emile Dalpe, one of the splitters, charges the CSN has been taken over by "ideologists whose ideas can only lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat ..."

Using the CSN's telex system, the three convened a meeting of

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UNIONISTS FILL STREETS OF QUEBEC CITY to accompany labor leaders Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau to jail. Leaders have since been released on appeal for re-negotiation of public employees' contracts.

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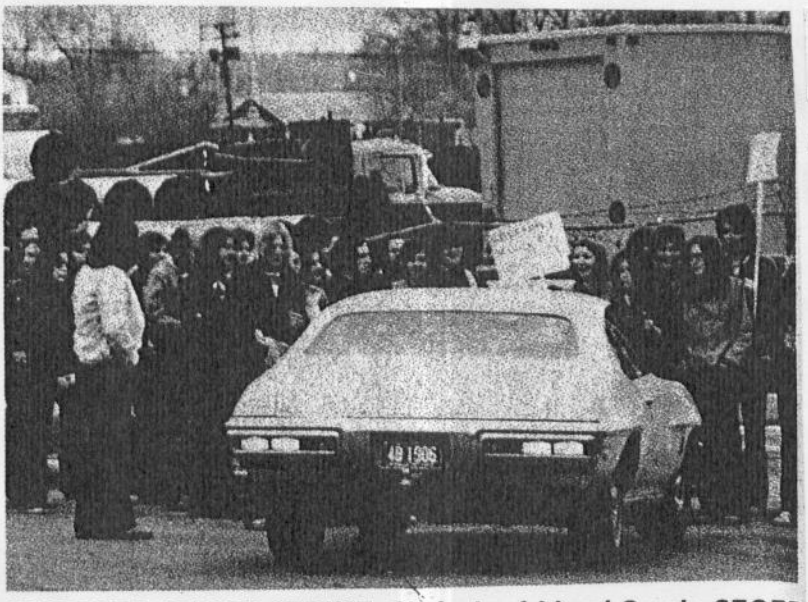

STUDENTS JOINED STRIKE. Students of Lionel-Groulx CEGEP (junior college) at Ste-Therese in the Laurentians, picket the offices of the Department of Highways.

dissidents May 22 which they claim drew delegates from 270 the CSN's 900 affiliates. Of the close to 1,200 delegates who attended, 758 voted to set up a new central labor body, 266 voted for a "housecleaning" of the CSN, and 15 voted for the status quo.

According to the Montreal daily Le Devoir, participants in the closed-door meeting protested the CSN's "politicization" of the public sector conflict, the principle of forming common fronts with the other labor federations, and the financial support to the Lapalme workers. They also charged that CSN conventions are dominated by "intellectuals" and the "revolutionary ideas" of people like Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN.

At a midnight press conference following his release from prison, FTQ president Louis Laberge accused Premier Robert Bourassa's government of "encouraging, if not organizing, the division within the CSN" in order to weaken the Quebec labor movement. He noted that Dalpe is a former defeated Liberal candidate.

CSN secretary-treasury Raymond Parent has made similar charges. "It is clear to me that the plot is controlled from outside the movement by the enemies of the CSN and particularly by the Liberal party which, a few days ago, sent precise directives to its organizers that they should set up in each locality a committee of provocateurs destined to crush the struggle of the workers in the public sector."

Much of the CSN's phenomenal growth of the past decade — which has increased its membership from under 100,000 to almost a quarter million today — has been among civil servants, hospital workers, and professional layers like nurses and hydro technicians and engineers. Very low-paid, yet often highly skilled, many of them especially exploited women workers, these layers are particularly militant. A great many are supporters of Quebec independence. They have been a major factor in the CSN's radicalization in recent years.

But this radicalization has met with resistance within the CSN.

Prominent in the breakaway move are the leaders of the CSN's building trades federation. Two years ago, they expelled the Montreal construction workers' union whose business agent is Michel Chartrand. Opposition to the Chartrand leadership on the CSN's 60,000-worker Montreal council recently led to a split-away of South Shore elements to form their own council claiming 4,000 members.

The building trades in the South Shore suburbs were instrumental in a back-to-work movement that ended the Montreal construction workers' strike in solidarity with the jailed labor leaders. The "anti-strike committee" included contractors and foremen; its spokesman was a contractor. When the committee called a rally of construction workers to urge them to return to work, the hall was lined with uniformed cops who also provided the loudspeaker system!

While the CSN dissidents claim the support of up to 70,000 members of the labor body, it appears the real figure is closer to 20,000. They themselves admit that they are splitting from the CSN because they are convinced there is no way they can win a majority at the June convention.

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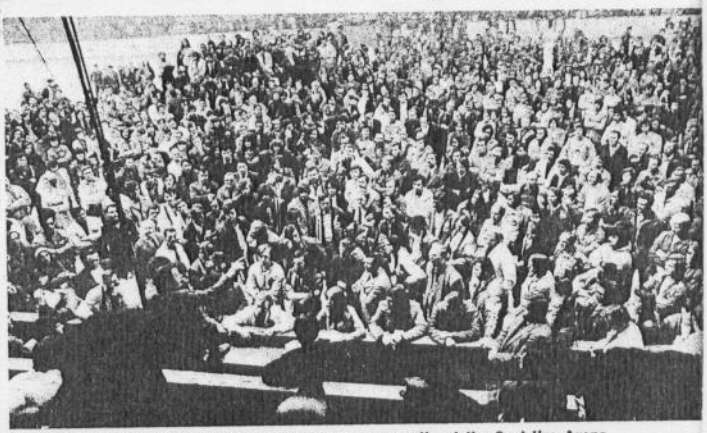
Eyewitness from Quebec:

How workers ran Sept-Iles



THIS IS OUR CITY. Over 5,000 unionists in a mass rally at the Sept-Iles Arena.

As the May labor upsurge broke out in Quebec, Labor Challenge sent two reporters to cover events on the scene. This report was sent from Sept-Iles, on the north shore of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.

by ART YOUNG

SEPT-ILES, QUEBEC — In this small city, scraped out of the rock and sand; trains loaded with rich minerals meet the giant ships there that will carry the ores far away to be processed. Now the town symbolizes the massive revolt of Quebec labor against the jailing of its three top leaders.

Quebec's national exploitation is seen graphically in Sept-Iles with its very thin layer of English families who live in the most luxurious part the city. They are the top administration of the mining companies, whose owners live thousands of miles away in Toronto or New York. While close to 100 percent of the workers are French, the companies are English right down to the smallest detail.

Since the early '60s, this mixture of heavy proletarian composition, a high degree of unionization, and ever-present national exploitation has made Sept-Iles a center of nationalist agitation.

For two days in May, the workers controlled, led this city of 20,000 inhabitants. All work stopped. All stores were closed except those the strikers permitted to stay open. The city was effectively sealed off — barricades went up on the road, the airport was shut, the telephone lines were jammed for a while. The mayor and city council were powerless and could only endorse the movement's demands.

"A number of us had been in Quebec City May 9 to accompany the three union heads (Pepin, Charbonneau and Laberge) to jail. We returned back Tuesday evening in time to participate in a large gathering outside the Sept-Iles courthouse," Velmore Tremblay told me. Tremblay is a staff representative of the International Association of Machinists (Quebec Federation of Labor) and a leader of the union coordinating body, le Front Commun. "A number of spakers called for a general strike the next morning, and towards the end of the rally, the police attacked us. There were a number of arrests and many were injured."

The police assault only added to the workers anger at the jailing of the three leaders. "If they can throw Louis Laberge (in jail) like a criminal, then they can do it to any one of us," one unionist, a stocky construction worker said on the verge of tears.

Bruno Girouard, staff representative of the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) National Construction Union described what happened next: "The next morning the whole town was shut down. The mines, the factories, the schools, the offices, the construction sites, everything. The strikers moved down the streets, from store to store, requesting that they may be closed. And their demands were met. There were few incidents. All chain stores were closed, but the corner groceries and other essential services were allowed to stay open.

"Meanwhile, a group of strikers took over the radio station at about 10:00 a.m. The regular programs remained, but the strikers occupied the station to ensure that all the

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statements of the strike were broadcast. In a town like ours, the radio is a vital means of communication — we have no daily papers and our only TV comes from across the St. Lawrence River from Matane.

"At about the same time, another flying squad of workers seized trucks and buses to build barricades across the only highway into town. They closed the airport and jammed the phone lines for a few hours. The whole place was sealed off from the outside."

The strikers were able to gain enough time to show the population that the city was under their control. This produced a rude shock among the businessmen and representatives of the large mining companies, who, for several hours at least, felt themselves at the mercy of the workers.

This panic by the bosses led to a grave provocation. During a public rally, a Liberal party activist drove his car into the crowd. More than 20 were injured, many seriously; a few days later Hermain St. Gelais, a 22-year-old lab technician, died from his injuries.

The next morning, Thursday, May 11, tempers were short at the mass rally of 5000, which was almost half the adult population. The strike continued. It was further decided to demand that the town council support the movement. That evening the workers invaded City Hall and forced the holding of an emergency council meeting. The mayor and council had little choice but to comply. In a hall overflowing with strikers and their supporters, they agreed to demand that Quebec premier Robert Bourassa withdraw Law 19, which broke the civil service strike, Law 15, earlier legislation against construction workers; and that he free all arrested union leaders. It was agreed that the Front Commun would have full access to the radio station, as would any other movement that wanted to use it. And the mayor appealed for all stores to close, "in order to avoid useless and regrettable spilling of blood."

The unions and council agreed, however, that drug stores, the hospital, credit unions, banks and gas stations would remain open. In the hands of the workers, the town remained relatively tranquil and orderly.

But in the meantime, the Quebec

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...Sept-Iles takeover

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government had rushed several hundred provincial police to the town, using Canadian army aircraft. They commandeered bulldozers to smash down the barricades, allowing further police reinforcements to arrive. On Friday, May 10, there were about 600 cops in the area, fifteen times the normal police force. They were not idle. Strikers were evicted from the radio station. Known union militants were repeatedly searched and arrested on the main street. More than 100 arrests of unionists and their supporters on minor charges were made over the weekend.

Thus reinforced, the bosses took the initiative. The Mayor reneged on his promises, met with the Chamber of Commerce, took to the radio to blast the unions, and called on shops to open their doors. Some did on Saturday. The Sports Palace, which had been used up until then by the Front Commun for mass meetings of up to 5000 people, was closed by the city. The workers had no other halls holding more than 400 people. Without the radio or meeting halls, they were gagged and could not reply to the bosses. Five hundred of the town's upper crust gathered in the plush hotel where they heard the major companies announce they would re-open Monday morning.

In fact, that morning a large number of workers returned to work and by Wednesday, May 17, the Front Commun issued a back to work call.

The mood of those returning was hardly one of defeat. I attended the last meeting of the Front Commun on May 17. While recognizing that a return was necessary, the strikers felt that something had been won — the promise to free the three union heads into re-opened negotiations over the adoption of trade union bill 19. "We are not beaten," was the cry.

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Workers' control in Mtl. hospital

"We have barricaded all entrances and told the administrators to stay away...We have excluded them because we want to prove that we are qualified to do our jobs and that we can take part in the organization of a democratic and efficient treatment centre..."

That's how Nelson Cerat, an orderly for five years at the Montreal Albert Prevost Psychiatric Hospital, explained the reasons for the occupation of the hospital during Quebec's general strike.

The hospital was occupied by orderlies and nurses following injunctions slapped on union militants during the public service strike. Cerat is one of ten members at Albert Prevost who were cited for contempt of court and found guilty of defying injunctions.

The action of the orderlies and nurses quickly won the support of interns and other professionals on the staff. After three days the workers were driven out of the hospital by riot police who brought the five administrators in with them.

But the police invasion only firmed up the staff. The day after the police invasion, the doctors at the hospital voted to support the rest of the staff and to demand the resignation of the administrator.

While the occupation has been ended, the struggle is continuing. The workers maintain informational pickets and they refuse to recognize the presence of the administrators while on shift.

During the occupation Cerat described how the workers ran the hospital. "All services are being provided normally under a self-management system. The medical staff is on duty and we will admit all emergency cases. We hold meetings with the patients to keep them informed about the (strike) situation. We organize sports events in the afternoon and dances in the evening."

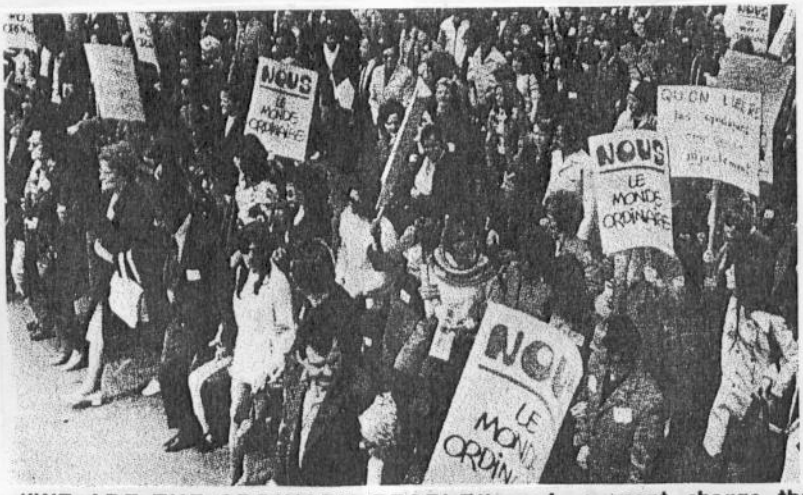
All reports indicate that the hospital functioned better in the rounded interests of both the patients and the workers during the occupation than ever before.

But the Quebec government and local authorities were determined to crush this occupation in the bud. Lasting but a few days, it served as an inspiring anticipation of just what workers democratic control of their workplaces and society can mean.

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL. Some of the workers who took over Albert Prevost hospital.

labor Challenge #57 Jun 1972

Quebec - a nation rebels



"WE ARE THE ORDINARY PEOPLE" read signs of workers accompanying 34 union leaders to jail. Slogan was raised in defiance of government charge that the strike hurt "ordinary people."

Workers' control in Mtl. hospital

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WORKERS' CONTROL. Some of the workers who took over Prevost hospital.

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Argentine left fights repression

The Argentine Socialist party (PSA — Partido Socialista Argentino) headed by Juan Carlos Coral has called on all political parties and the trade union movement to form a united committee against the government's plans to introduce the death penalty and against proposals to institute 'special' prisons for political prisoners. The call appeared in the April 26 issue of Avanzada Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the PSA launched following a working agreement with the Partido Revolutionario de Trabajadores (La Verdad).

"Repeatedly nearly all Argentine political parties and the CGT (Confederation General del Trabajo General Confederation of Labor) have made statements opposing the prevailing repressive system," the PSA states. "We must understand that today, in view of the imminent danger that the death penalty will begin to be applied or that certain prisoners will be subjected to living conditions that involve their physical and moral annihilation, it is incumbent upon all of us to go beyond statements to action by setting up the aforementioned committee."

In an accompanying article, Avanzada Socialista explains that the "possible application of the death penalty hangs over the head of many persons who are being held under suspicion of being terrorists. In addition, newspaper accounts report that the government is considering setting up 'special' prisons for suspected guerrillas." The possibility is being discussed of transferring prisoners to the deserted Isla de los Estados on the edge of the Antarctic Ocean off Tierra del Fuego.

On April 20, law 19582 was introduced to the effect that persons subject to trial (that is, who have not yet even been found guilty!) "can be held in places that the Executive Power decides on for this purpose."

The thinking of the government, according to Avanzada Socialista, is that it will attempt to get away with imposing the death penalty, but that if there is too much of a popular uproar before the condemned are executed, "it will hold in reserve a system that is no less effective but that is more 'quiet' than the firing squad."

Intercontinental Press

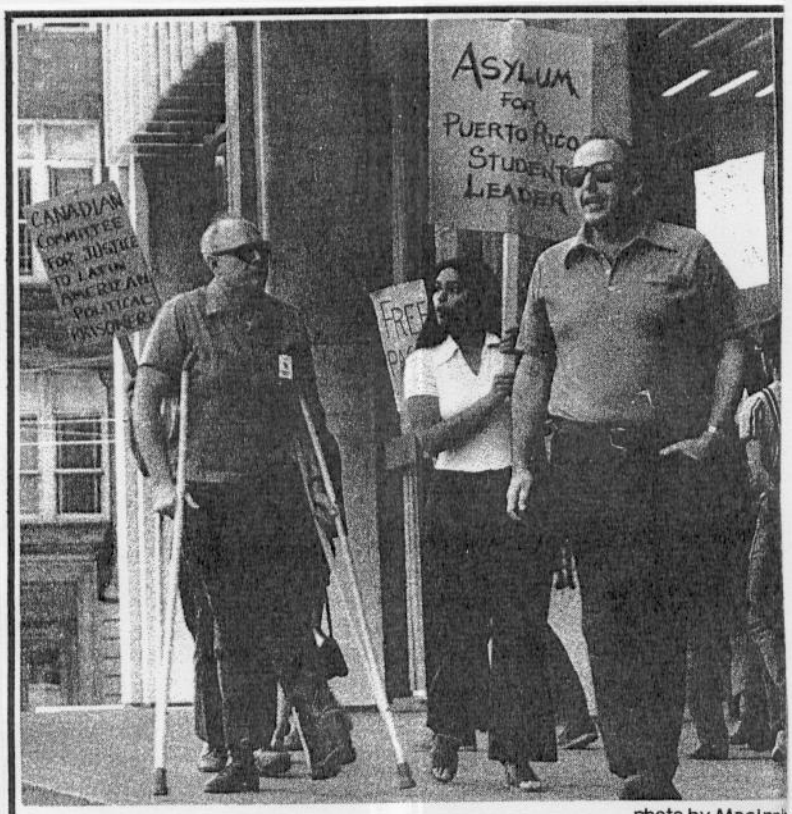

photo by MacInnis

FREE HUMBERTO PAGAN was cry of demonstrators in Toronto (above) and Ottawa within days of May 24 Immigration Appeal Board decision to deny appeal against deportation by Puerto Rican independentist Humberto Pagan Hernandez. Pagan faces possible torture and death at hands of Puerto Rico police who are trying to frame him on charge of murdering a police major.

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A suppressed page in Canadian history
CANADA and the CIVIL WAR in SPAIN

by Ross Dowson
(from Labor Challenge*, June 5, 1972, in tribute to Henry Scott Beattie, veteran of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*

Over the period of 1936-38, some 1,200 Canadians, in defiance of the Canadian government — Ottawa, passed a new Imperial Foreign Enlistment Act making their act a criminal offence — slipped out of the country for Spain.

On July 31,1937, with all the appearance of neutrality, the same august neutrality that the King government observed in its refusal to sell arms both to the Spanish government and to the fascist insurgents who were being generously supplied by Hitler and Mussolini, Ottawa applied its Act to enlistment in either Franco's army, or in the Republican army.

On August 10, 1937, the government moved to halt the issuance of passports "except under definite restriction and guarantees." But the volunteers continued to slip out, even though now their passports bore the notation "Not Valid in Spain."

By various means they made their way to Paris and thence to the borders where, after evading French patrols under order of the Popular Front government headed by "socialist" Leon Blum, they were forced to scale the Pyrenees to get to their objective. Some attempted to complete their journey by boat, like the 20 who embarked from Marseilles on the Ciudad de Barcelona — only to have it sunk from under them by a torpedo fired by an Italian submarine. Half of them died in battle.

When those who survived prepared to return to Canada the RCMP challenged that they should be barred as they "had either committed a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act or were engaged, contrary to the policy of the government, in the Spanish War."

Immigration, however, ruled ironically, that "in most, if not all, instances, the nature of the absence from Canada would be inconsistent with an intention of settlement abroad." And after many difficulties they found their way back to Canada — on the eve of the Second World War.

A Forgotten Episode

When in Spain they had been part, as the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, of the International Brigades that had been recruited from across Europe for the fight against the forces of fascist General Franco. These brigades, largely composed of French, Polish, German, Austrian, Italian, along with American, British and Belgian workers, were some 35,000 strong.

What type of Canadians were they, what caused them to not only freely volunteer but

to overcome such difficulties as were put in their way at every turn, and if necessary, lay down their lives in a land that none of them knew?

Anti-fascists to be sure. But nothing more? Their determination, their dedication, their heroism is hard to understand from the explanations of the decaying Communist Party of Canada which attempts to cloak itself in their neglected glory. According to CP leader Tim Buck in a 30th anniversary memorial article (1966) "they were in fact the advance guard of the victorious army that the government did send over eventually to help defeat the fascist attempt to enslave mankind."

But the government opposed the vanguard! And as for its victorious army — the Canadian army of World War II — one of its most significant characteristics was its scepticism of the government's declared aims, which Buck continues to slavishly give credence to.

Victor Hoar, in the epilogue of his 240 page study of “The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion” that appeared last year, gives us no insight on this question. He states that "The fact that these men sought to delay or even halt the encroachment of totalitarian political dynasties is lost in the confusion and paradoxes of political allegiances, of definitions for that matter, which have emerged since that time."

Buck anticipates that the federal government will be compelled "to recognize the record of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion as an integral part of the record of Canadian arms."

Revolutionaries

Vain hope! For the simple truth of the matter is that the volunteers of the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion were revolutionaries. The overwhelming majority were members or under the influence of the Communist Party already no longer revolutionary but completely Stalinized. Nonetheless they were socialists with arms in hand, out to avenge the defeat of the German working class, to beat fascism, and to establish a workers' Spain.

From the profile or composite portrait established by Hoar from the existing records that cover 366 of their number, only 2 percent were under 20 years of age and 61.5 percent were over 30. According to Hoar, taking into account that many of them were landed immigrants or naturalized citizens, "The Canadian contingent represented a militant proletariat....many were already hardened veterans of radical movements in Europe..."

The Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which numbered among its sponsors the Reverend Salem G. Bland and CCF leader Graham Spry, never sought to recruit volunteer combatants — "this activity was the special charge of the Communist Party of Canada."

According to an interview that Hoar had with Spry, chairman of the Ontario CCF executive committee, this was an agreed upon division of labor. Spry took his place as chairman of the Spanish Aid Committee "in personal response to the horror in Spain, but also in order to safeguard the interests, political and humanitarian, of the CCF." The CCF *(founded in 1933, predecessor of the NDP founded in 1961 –ed.)* "asserted its belief in humanitarian assistance and to this end was instrumental in sending Dr. Norman Bethune abroad," writes Hoar.

On the other hand, the Communist Party, according to Spry, was given the go-ahead, "though not through the offices of the Committee" to recruit volunteers as this activity "did not appeal to most CCFers and which was completely contrary to the pacifist wing represented by party leader J.S. Woodsworth, to the isolationist wing represented by quite a number of academics in the CCF and which ran generally against the non-violent program or attitude of most CCF members." It took the Second Imperialist World War for the CCF leadership, from the isolationist wing to the pacifist wing, to overcome the scruples which they so squeamishly demonstrated over Spain.

What were the conditions for recruitment of volunteers that the Communist Party laid down to those persons it placed in charge? To be sure there were many recruited to the Mac-Paps who were not already members of the CP. although their potential for membership must have had considerable weight.

Trotskyists Screened Out

According to Hoar's research there were two categories that were vigorously screened out — "a member of the RCMP or an adherent of the disgraced Trotsky." Later he quotes entrusted CPer Peter Hunter with regard to his and YCL leader Paul Phillips' search "for RCMP officers and Trotskyites; as Hunter put it 'we didn't know which we hated the most'."

They were not too successful in screening out RCMPers. One Mac-Pap testified to Hoar that a volunteer who died in Spain was either an active RCMP officer or a former officer. Strange to say Hoar doesn't pursue the matter of Trotskyism although the nature of his book, which contains extensive, researched interviews with volunteers, required him to do so.

Among "the first five volunteers dispatched from Canada" he lists one Henry Scott Beattie. Later Hoar notes that Beattie "came back" to Toronto, while the war raged on, where he states Beattie "apparently engaged in a public denunciation of the Republican effort and the assistance from the left that was being organized." Hoar continues; "The Friends described him as mounting 'disruptive activities against Spain.' The *(Toronto) Daily Clarion* (which Hoar describes elsewhere as "a political organ of the left" but which was in reality the press of the Communist Party) dismissed him as "a Trotskyist."

Hoar too dismissed Beattie. Beattie presented his experiences and views at some length in an interview with the leading *Toronto Telegram* columnist C.B. Pyper, in an

extensive letter to the well-known *Canadian Forum* in April 1938. which stirred up quite a controversy in subsequent pages and elsewhere. Hoar also failed to note the extremely illuminating reminiscences of the now well-established Canadian novelist Hugh Garner that appeared in the *Toronto Star Weekly Magazine* and which are in stark contrast to the some three pages of atmosphere prose by Garner that he does reproduce. He doesn't even mention William Krehm, a Canadian revolutionary socialist who went to Spain and was imprisoned by the Valencia authorities for 10 weeks, and whose pamphlet “Spain: Revolution and Counter-Revolution” is in the Toronto Reference library along with 'other Mackenzie-Papineau battalion archives.

A Suppressed Chapter

Overlooked also are the informed articles by the well-known journalist and author Pierre Van Passen that appeared in the *Toronto Daily Star* over that period. Henry Scott Beattie didn't "come back", he was brought back. He explained this in a response to *Daily Clarion* attacks against him and an attack by its correspondent Ted Alan who charged that "he must be mentally unbalanced." Beattie wrote: "But apparently the Communist party both here and in Spain did not share his (Alan's) opinion when they chose me in preference to all other 700 Canadians as their first propagandist here. Nor would they have made me honorary vice-president of the much prized Tim Buck Club or appointed me youth organizer in the east end of the city if they had considered me mentally unbalanced."

In this letter, not published of course by the *Clarion,* Beattie replies to Alan's smear that he was attacking his former comrades. "I realize the boys I was fighting with in the trenches really believe that they are assisting the Spanish people and that they are dying for their ideals. On the other hand I believe that the Communist party and the (Popular Front) Government are sabotaging their struggle and are attempting to patch things up with the fascists."

Beattie explained his refusal to play the role for which the Communist party had brought him back to Canada. Among other things he said he was "coached to make certain statements about the Trotskyists, for example 'Trotskyites who stab wounded soldiers on crutches in the back' — and this despite the fact that while I was in Spain I had never seen or spoken to a Trotskyist." He also said that since his return "I have had the opportunity for the first time to think over my experiences and to examine the international press, both labor and bourgeois."

He told *(Toronto) Telegram* reporter Pyper, "I am for the workers' cause in Spain. The victory of Franco would be a catastrophe... It is because I want to help the Spanish working class that I am giving this interview. The truth is necessary in order to help them combat the reaction which is taking place behind the lines and which is weakening their struggle against Franco."

Beatty revealed that he had been a CP member before going to Spain. Referring to his fellow volunteers he said "we had enlisted with the understanding we were to fight not

simply against Franco but for a socialist revolution in Spain."

"When I first came to Spain," Beatty wrote in the *Canadian Forum*, "we volunteers from the Americas were welcomed and identified with the real revolutionary spirit which was strong and vibrant in the country.... By June, however, when I was wounded and invalided through various hospitals to Albacete, things had greatly altered. In the first place I found that International Brigadiers were so unpopular with the average Spaniard that a (Communist) Party functionary ordered me in the train to remove my badges; in restaurants or parks when I tried to begin conversations with civilians with the explanation that I was 'a Communist.' I was greeted with black looks and prompt isolation.

"My party had gained in membership, certainly, but it was a gain among the business classes on the Loyalist side, and at the expense of the common people. In Murcia and elsewhere I saw that our placards and leaflets appealed for shopkeepers' membership with the promise of absolute support of private property. Gradually I learned that this was no mere trick of propaganda. Anyone inside or outside our party who was openly against the protection of private capital was in danger of arrest by our own secret police!"

"Despite the censorship, rumours reached us too that our Party leaders were supporting the Government in depriving anarchist peasants of their land cooperatives, turning the farms back into state or even private capital.

Then after May, there was talk of a joint attack by our Party and (Spanish Premier) Caballero's own troops upon rival workers' parties in Barcelona. Officially we were told that 'Trotskyites' had tried a coup for Franco there; but the unofficial story was that the POUM (semi-Trotskyite -H.B.) and the Anarchists had been attacked, their leaders assassinated, or jailed, and hundreds killed in the streets, in a forcible restoration of factories from workers' control into private capital again.

"In the trenches you couldn't find out which story was true; if you showed too much interest you were arrested. But in hospital I met three survivors of the Garibaldi Battalion. They told me that their battalion had been kept in the trenches for three months without leave, because they had heard these rumors too and had refused, when ordered to march against their comrades in Barcelona....

Communist Party betrayed revolution

"I left Spain convinced that our Spanish policy was nothing less than a betrayal. Caballero was given Communist Party support to crush the mass parties of the Spanish workers and farmers, in order that the war against Franco might be made respectable and Spanish capitalism preserved. When Caballero proved too mild, the CP threw him out and put in that openly-confessed defender of private property, Negrin. The jails of Loyalist Spain *(anti-fascist –ed.)* overflow with loyal fighters of fascism. Who are not also loyal fighters for capitalism. The masses know it; they never had faith in the Popular Front government and they have hatred now. It was not the Government which stopped

Franco in the first place, but the self-armed, rank- and-file socialists, anarchists, and POUM-ites; they halted the fascists, after the Popular (Front) army and air force walked over to Franco, with the arms that they had stored for a future socialist revolution. The Communist Party has helped to push that day even farther into the future.

"I left Spain with one illusion — that the Communist International was unaware of the betrayals of its Spanish section. Arrived in Canada, I found here too, that I was required to disseminate lying endorsations of the counter- revolutionary role of the Spanish Communist Party."

It is Hoar's lack of a class analysis, his petty bourgeois concept of the whole Spanish civil war, that allows him to present an essentially Stalinist version but at the same time lard onto it such completely unintegrated and thereby quite incomprehensible though accurate comments — "the Soviet leaders knew that fierce revolutionary' interests in the Spanish Republic might, in the course of the war, or as a consequence of victory, attempt a proletarian dictatorship. Such a revolt could only embarrass Moscow for it would immediately turn away the moderates who would assume that the only alternative to Spanish fascism was communist revolution; and the Russians weren't willing to support a revolution in Europe at this time." And another observation with regard to the political commissars in the International Brigades — that "the ideology they advocated was, however, not so much Marxist as liberal-social. Everyone knew that the commissars were expected to be party members, but the 'education' these men passed on was not hard-line Marxism so much as the moderate politics of the Spanish Republic. (Remember that the Comintern did not seek to provoke proletarian revolution in Spain at this time.)"

If he had come to grips with Beattie's evidence and that of Garner, Krehm and Van Passen, Hoar might have solved this monstrous contradiction in his book. And he might have besides rendered the service of providing all the essential facts and not just a partial and quite unbalanced record for what is yet to be written — the definitive history of Canadian participation in the Spanish civil war.

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labor Challenge #57 Jun 1972

Ont. Waffle women's conferences

by KATE ALDERDICE

Two women's conferences, both organized by women in the left-wing Waffle caucus of the NDP, took place May 20-21. About 40 women attended one conference at Glendon campus in Toronto while 20 others participated in another gathering in St. Catharines.

The conferences provided a valuable opportunity to discuss a socialist strategy for women's liberation. But both gatherings rejected the idea that socialist women should adopt the strategy of participating in and leading the mass independent movement of women for abortion law repeal. The two conferences, organized by feuding groups in the Waffle, were unable even to unite with each other, let alone work out a common strategy for women.

Three significant position papers were presented to the conferences. The paper presented by the organizers of the Glendon conference flatly rejected the idea of organizing a mass, independent women's movement, encompassing women from every walk of life. This paper dismissed the abortion law repeal movement as "liberal feminist", and instead proposed strategy of "organizing among working women". It urged Waffle women to approach the problems of women in the framework of a "socialist women's liberation struggle", and set a priority of building contacts with trade union women. Leading women in the Waffle, such as Krista Maeots, and Ellie Prepas, federal N.D.P. candidate in Toronto Trinity riding, signed the paper.

The position paper prepared by the organizers of the St. Catharines conference — Varda Kidd, Jackie Larkin and Donna McCombs, called for a "broadly based women's movement", recognizing the need to unite all women against their oppression. However, the paper rejected the idea that the movement for abortion law repeal, a mass movement of thousands of women already existing in Canada, is a central part of this broadly-based movement. Instead, it counterposed a strategy of setting up "multi-issue" groups similar to the ones that flourished in the first few years of the feminist movement, and have since declined in most areas.

The third paper, called "A Socialist Strategy for Women's Liberation, by Rozi Doctorow and Diane Mossman Boyd, was presented to both conferences. The paper (excerpted on this page) pointed out that a mass independent movement of women already exists in the abortion law repeal movement, and called on Waffle women to participate in and lead this movement. Both conferences rejected this strategy.

One important weakness of the conferences, was their failure to discuss says of organizing women **within** the NDP to encourage the party to respond more to the growing feminist consciousness. The position paper of the St. Catharines conference organizers explicitly rejected this orientation, saying, "...we should continue to write resolutions for conventions, push for some structural changes, etc. as we have done in the past. We should do no more than this."

The discussions initiated at the conferences are to continue with the possibility of a united conference at some time in the future.

photo by Jeff White

WOMEN CONFRONT TRUDEAU. Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition demonstrate outside meeting addressed by Prime Minister in Toronto May 12.

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Editorials

Defend Waffle caucus

On June 4, 15 Metro Toronto NDP ridings are meeting in an all day conference to discuss the move by the leadership of the Ontario New Democratic Party to push the Waffle out of the party.

The NDP executive has demanded that the Waffle, which it says is a "party within a party" disband or get out, and is conducting an all out campaign in the ridings and affiliated union locals to get its position adopted by the June 24-25 Provincial Council meeting in Orillia.

A "compromise" solution is now being circulated through the party. It calls for affiliated status for the Waffle, and is attracting support from New Democrats who see it as a reasonable middle position. One of the prominent individuals behind the petition is former ONDP secretary John Harney. Harney was a key figure in expulsion of socialists from the ONDP in 1967.

Affiliated status for the Waffle means that the Waffle as an organized force would be out of the party. As an organization outside the party it would then have to apply for affiliation — that is the right to send delegates to NDP conventions. It would be banned from organizing as a force — that is, a caucus — within the party. New Democrats who support the Waffle program would have to join an organization outside the party.

But the views of the Waffle are shared by thousands of New Democrats across Canada. Since its inception three years ago the Waffle has become a focus for a broad opposition within the party around an anticapitalist program that challenges the bankrupt reformist program of the NDP leadership. The affiliation "compromise" is a blow against the right of these New Democrats to organize in the party to win the party to their views.

Witch-hunts against socialists and attempts to limit party democracy are not new. But this time the stakes are higher. The leadership is out to ban the socialist view from the NDP altogether.

The June 4 conference must give clear direction. The attack on party democracy must be turned back. The right of socialists and all New Democratic Party members to put forward their views must be defended. There is only one solution. The conference must demand an end to the witch-hunt and support the right of the Waffle to remain in the party.

Abortion key to feminist strategy

(From Labor Challenge June 1972)

The following are excerpts from a position paper entitled "A Socialist Strategy for Women's Liberation," by Rozi Doctorow and Diane Mossman Boyd. The paper was presented to conferences of Waffle women May 20-21.

Any strategy for women's liberation must flow directly from an understanding of the oppression of women under capitalism, and how they are responding to this oppression.

Since women as a sex are oppressed by capitalism, what is needed is a strategy that can unite all women in a common movement against the institutions in this society which oppress them. Is it possible to unite women in this way?

The fact of this shared oppression means that women can unite, on the basis of clearly worked out demands that go to the heart of what it is that oppresses women **as women**. This is the key to working out a strategy for women. If all women are oppressed as a sex, then socialists must work out a strategy which enables them to struggle **as women** for their own liberation around their own demands. This means we are out to unite all women whether they are in the schools, in the home, in offices or factories. Any other strategy denies the distinct and universal oppression of women as a sex. Shall we set out to organize just working women? If we did so, would we not be saying that women are oppressed simply as workers, and not as a sex?

We must find a basis on which to unite women, to cut across the divisions that are deliberately created among us.

Women, like all other oppressed people, learn in the course of struggle. A mass movement with the aim of organizing all women can draw tens of thousands into political action. It can awaken them to feminist consciousness by getting them to come to a meeting, sign a petition, or take part in a demonstration. Once mobilized into action, they can see and feel the strength of their organized numbers, and acquire the confidence that has been denied them so long. Above all, they will learn how profound their own oppression is, and who is responsible for it. Thousands of women are right now becoming aware of the need to fundamentally change the society that oppresses them.

The demands and political thrust of a mass, united movement of women is necessarily against the bourgeois government, the chief defenders of the status quo and upholders of women's oppression. This is very evident in the Trudeau government's refusal even to discuss the abortion issue, in spite of the majority sentiment in favor of repeal. The ruling class and its representatives are well aware of their interests here — to defend the existing institutions of male supremacy and capitalist rule, and to block or divert the developing mass, anti-capitalist women's movement.

And the direction of the feminist movement is also clear. Its continuing organization and agitation around women's demands bring it more and more into political confrontation with vested capitalist interests, represented by the government and the clerical hierarchy.

As socialist women we must do more than just work out an abstract strategy for women on paper. We have to take part in the real political life of this country. And the fact is, there already exists in Canada the core of a mass, united movement of women — the movement to repeal the anti-abortion laws.

In Canada, this issue has already shown its ability to rally thousands of women in a movement which is having a profound impact on political life in this country. Other issues, particularly equal pay for equal work, an end to job discrimination, and child care facilities have also emerged since the rebirth of the feminist movement. These issues are very important, and essential for the liberation of women. But it has been the abortion issue that has been able to inspire and unite so many thousands of women in struggle against their oppressors.

Why is this the case?

It didn't happen because a small group of women arbitrarily decided that this was to be the issue to which thousands of women would respond. The abortion issue found this response because it strikes so profoundly at the basic definition of women in this society, as reproductive machines. Wife and mother — for thousands of years women have lived within this narrow circumscribed sphere of existence. They have been denied the right to control the functioning of their own biological organism. They have been kept ignorant of the most basic facts about their own bodies, ignorant of their own sexual and social needs. Denied access to birth control and abortion, life has been for them one pregnancy after another, or infection and death at the hands of backroom butchers.

Women must be punished, in this bitterly oppressive society, for any attempt to freely express their own sexuality. Moreover, their constant susceptibility to unplanned and unwanted pregnancies has been used to justify the discrimination that women face in every area of life — on the job, in the educational system, etc.

The campaign for the right of women to abortion — to control their own bodies — challenges this whole rationale for the oppression of women. It poses the possibility of a new kind of society, new ways for women to live. For the first time it raises the idea that women can live full and happy lives without necessarily being mothers. For many thousands of women, this is a disturbing, but exhilarating and revolutionary concept.

Some forces in the women's movement claim that abortion is not a relevant issue to working class women. Nothing could be further from the truth. Working class women are constantly faced with unwanted pregnancies. They are most trapped within the family by lack of control over their child-bearing functions. Abortion has always been more available (but not freely available) to women who have money. It is working class women who suffer most under the present laws, who are most vulnerable to being maimed or killed by quack operators. They are also most trapped by the stifling and reactionary prejudices which tell women they have no right to sexuality without pregnancy.

Moreover, the ruling class continues to wage a constant battle to push back the gains that women have made in this area. To win on the abortion issue will require a long struggle,

precisely because it challenges the whole basis of women's oppression. But each victory that women win in this struggle makes it possible for them to go on to further action

The role of socialist women in the abortion law repeal movement is of central importance. We have a big responsibility. This living movement of women already exists. It's not going to go away. It's going to grow, attract more thousands of women, and win important gains. Are socialist women going to ignore this movement? Or are they going to step forward and take the leadership of it?

Socialist women have a unique role to play, because they have a clear analysis of the roots of the oppression of women, and how it can be ended — through socialist revolution. While it is true that women are going to learn by participating in the struggle for their rights, that will only be one side of the process of their political education. Women are thirsting for the kind of insight into their own oppression that a Marxist analysis can give them. It is the intervention and leadership of socialist women that can ensure that the abortion law repeal movement fulfills its revolutionary potential, that it is not diverted by the ruling class.

As members and supporters of the New Democratic Party, we have an added responsibility. That is to bring the NDP into the struggle for women's liberation, which means now the struggle to repeal the abortion laws. The feminist movement must look for allies in its struggle to liberate women by liberating humanity. It can find this kind of support in the NDP, the party that represents working people, students, and other oppressed people in this society.

NDP ranks fight Lewis' witchhunt

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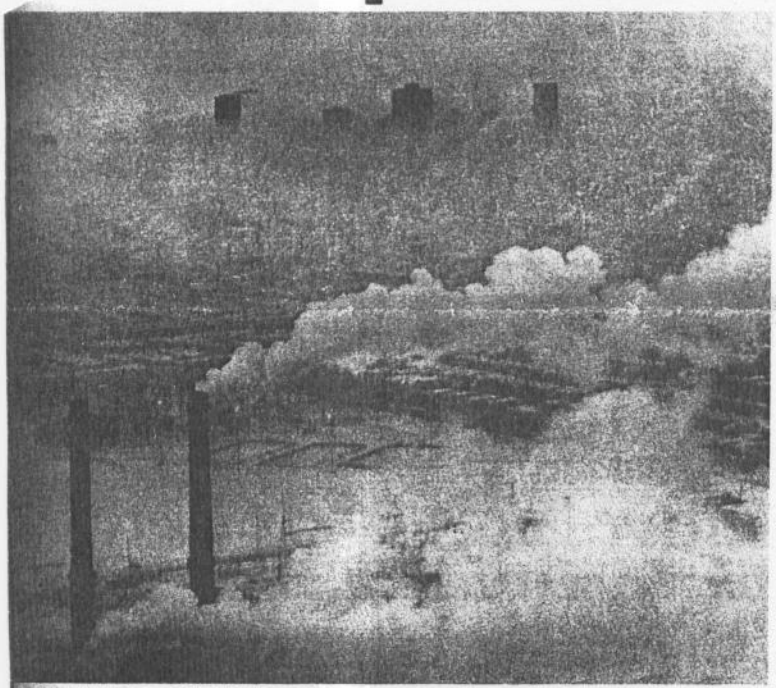
Gov't hypocrites evade world pollution crisis



CAPITALISM POLLUTES THE WORLD. Above, Montreal skyline obscured by smog. Below, B.C. students work to contain oil spill from Cherry Point refinery in U.S.

by The Editors

When Canada's Mr. Clean packs up his bags and departs from the Stockholm UN Human Environment conference, he will leave behind him a foul trail of verbal pollution and wretched hypocrisy.

Maurice Strong — Canadian secretary-general of the UN conference — opened the plenary session by telling the delegates that discussions on warfare, poverty and injustice were a no-no. Strong, who comes out of the Brascan corporation, one of the biggest imperialist polluters in Latin America, was calling the name of the game. The conference is a farcical get-together of the world's biggest pollutors to talk about pollution. The result of the conference is to call more conferences — to talk some more about pollution. The main "concern" of the capitalist powers that dominate the UN is not the environment but how to placate the growing mass anger around the world against capitalist-engendered industrial pollution.

So concerned were the big powers for the success of their conference that they engineered the exclusion of East Germany, forcing the Soviet Union and other east European countries to boycott the affair.

The real anti-pollution conference was the "Dai Dong" counter-conference, organized by eminent scientists, and the mass demonstrations that took place in Sweden and other countries.

The biggest environmental issue of all — U.S. ecological warfare against Vietnam — wasn't supposed to come up at the UN affair.

More than 100 million pounds of herbicides have been spewn over Vietnam by U.S. C-123 cargo planes in an effort to wipe out its agriculture and destroy its flora. The May 1972 Scientific American reports that the U.S. bombing and craterization of Vietnam, coupled with its Carthage-like program of tractor-plowing will have long term ecologically disastrous effects, perhaps as bad as the herbicides.

Pressed by the revulsion and outrage of Swedish and international public opinion — which more and more began to identify with the Dai Dong counter-conference — Prime Minister Olaf Palme used his host speech to condemn as an outrage "the immense destruction brought about by indiscriminate bombing and large scale use of bulldozers and herbicides."

Canada has not once protested U.S. ecological warfare in Vietnam, the first U.S. large-scale ecocide since the wars against the

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Oil spill on B.C. coast

U.S. oilmen threaten our environment

by CYNTHIA FLOOD

On June 4, a pipe burst on an oil tanker at the Atlantic-Richfield Oil Co. (ARCO) $150 million refinery at Cherry Point, Washington, just 20 miles south of the Canadian border, spewing 12,000 gallons of crude oil onto the water.

The tidal flow took it from there, to deposit the gooey sludge on Canada's shoreline from White Rock to Crescent Beach. Teams of high school students and volunteers combined to clean up the mess which ARCO had "no knowedge, no experience, no plan" to deal with, according to local officials.

This incident comes as a prophetic example, on a miniature scale, of disasters to come if the controversial trans-Alaska pipline and tanker system becomes operative.

The giant U.S. corporations, in their drive for more and cheaper oil, plan to transport oil by pipeline from the rich Prudhoe Bay fields on Alaska's North Slope to Valdez on the south coast, and then by supertanker down the B.C. coast to Cherry Point, travelling just outside the limit of Canadian territorial waters. The route was approved by U.S. Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton in early May, but actual operation is stalled pending court decisions on suits brought against the line by conservationist and other groups.

Washington's quick approval of the line clearly shows the enormous power and influence of the oilmen in U.S. politics. As Washington "insider" reporter Jack Anderson noted: "The State Department has often taken its policies right out of the executive suites of the oil companies. When Big Oil can't get what it wants in foreign countries, the State Department tries to get it for them."

Alyeska Pipeline Services is a seven-company consortium of oil firms that has invested $2.5 billion in construction and equipment in the area, and expects to eventually show profits as high as $100 billion. With mouthwatering profits like these in the works, any "nervous Nellie" who might be worried about ecological damage is shoved out of the way by the oil lobby which has a direct pipeline to those in power in Washington.

The Alaska pipeline is certain to have catastrophic ecological effects on millions of acres of terrain. Oil heated to 180 degrees Fahrenheit, running through pipe laid on gravel over permafrost will cause irreparable damage to the tundra. Removal of gravel from local rivers for the pipe bed will destroy salmon spawning grounds. The line itself will block the migratory routes of the caribou.

And the culture and way of life of Alaska's native people are slated for destruction. They have forced the U.S. government to make compensation payments, but in the process, the oilmen have taken control of much of their ancestral lands.

Hundreds of miles of majestic B.C. coastline will be endangered by the supertankers. Each of these giant ships — as long as three football fields and seven storeys high — carries 940,000 barrels of oil. The tankers will travel through the treacherous Juan de Fuca Strait which is only a mile wide at points. There is serious danger of major oil spills — even "normal" spillage is considered an ecological hazard. The Cherry Point refinery itself dumps (legally) 3.7 million gallons daily of alkaline effluent into the water.

How has the Canadian government reacted to this threat from the U.S. oil barons? Far from protesting and disputing the right of the oilmen

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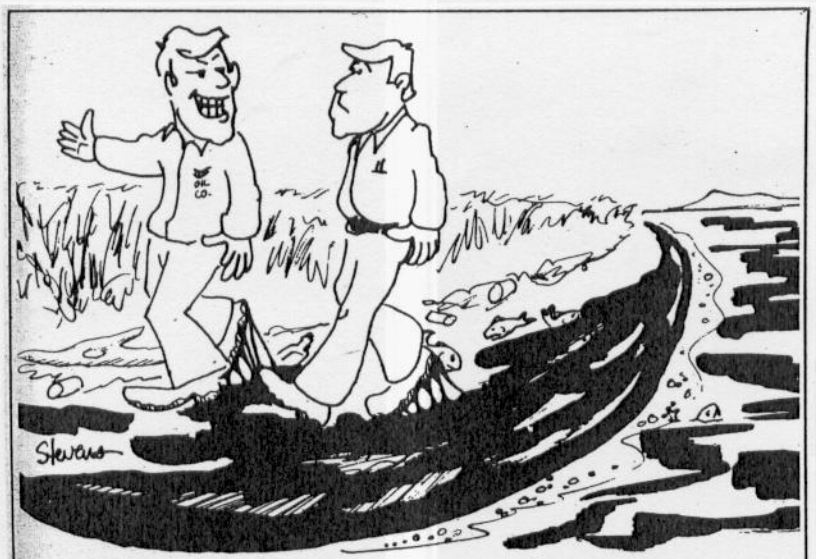

"...AND YOU'D HARDLY GUESS THAT LESS THAN TEN MILES FROM THIS BEAUTIFUL BEACH IS AN OIL TANKER PORT AND REFINERY."

to destroy Canada's west coast, the government has tried to persuade the U.S. to opt instead for a pipeline from the Alaska oil fields down the MacKenzie River valley through Alberta to the American midwest. The Mackenzie valley route would be as much a threat to the delicate Arctic environment and to native rights, as the Alaska route.

The government has not seriously opposed the Alaska system, in spite of its obvious menace to B.C. The possibility of extending Canadian jurisdiction over coastal waters off B.C. was posed by the NDP, but rejected by Trudeau. On May 15, the House of Commons passed a motion deprecating the approval of the line, but attempts by the NDP to put some teeth into this "opposition" failed.

In the face of the latest oil spill, the government went no further than a demand for the cost of cleanup, and that the U.S. pay compensation. A House of Commons resolution calling on the International Joint Commission to pay increased heed to future environmental dangers in the area.

NDP leader David Lewis called the government's measures "petty" in the face of the U.S. action approving the route, which Lewis called "almost the equivalent of an act of war."

The Canadian government cannot do anything which risks alienating the imperialist oil interests at work in Alaska, since many of them have taken out exploration rights in Canada's north, and play a big part in financing the Liberal and Tory parties.

Capitalism has provided no safe, practical way to transport Arctic oil. Until they can transport it safely, let it stay in the ground. U.S. capitalism doesn't need the oil now — they have 25 years worth of oil reserves in the continental U.S. — kept safe for purposes of "national defense," i.e. more wars. The Texas oil fields are running at far below normal output because foreign oil yields higher

profits for the oil barons.

Besides, the oil is mostly going for destruction, to fuel the U.S. war machine, or for wasteful, polluting automobiles.

The real opposition to the U.S. oilmen comes not from the Canadian government, but from the NDP, along with independent ecology and conservation groups. B.C. NDP members of the legislature have repeatedly tried to get the Socred government to act on the matter. But legalistic and parliamentary maneuvers are insufficient to stop the giant imperialist interests involved.

Many of the issues at stake in last fall's Amchitka crisis are present in the current oil controversy — danger to the environment, the callous indifference of the U.S. government to other people's rights, the wanton abuse of technology — and only massive public actions of the type which fought the Amchitka nuclear test will be effective now.

The NDP last year organized a demonstration of 4,000 people to protest the tanker route. Right now, the B.C. Fishermen's Union is involved with other organizations in a "sail - in" and rally at Vancouver's English Bay, June 11, coinciding with the Stockholm United Nations conference on the environment.

Further actions of this character must be organized, and built up into a powerful united cry of protest which cannot be ignored by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices in Ottawa.

Ban the supertankers from our coasts and the pipelines from the north, and tell the oilmen to go home! Nationalize Canadian oil reserves, and put our resources to work for human development, not to line the pockets of the profit-gougers!

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NDP members reject Lewis attack on Waffle

by JOHN STEELE

At a special conference called by 15 Metro Toronto riding associations June 4 the Ontario NDP leadership's witchhunt drive against the Waffle suffered a major setback. The conference voted overwhelmingly to reject the executive ultimatum that the Waffle disband or get out of the party.

Five hundred and twenty-nine registered. They were the party workers, organizers, executive members, candidates — the backbone of the NDP in the Metro area.

The meeting exploded the executive's phony claim that the pressure to drive the Waffle out of the party comes from the ranks.

Clearly ill-at-ease before the assembly, ONDP President Gordon Vichert argued that the executive was defending the NDP's democratic tradition by moving against the Waffle because "it is a permanent opposition that polarizes opinion and monopolizes dissent."

The gulf between Vichert and the meeting was wide. To sustained applause Waffle leader Melville Watkins charged that it was not the Waffle but the "President and the executive who are determined to split the party."

Vichert's feeble defense of the executive's position failed to stand up to the defense of the Waffle presented by James Laxer. Laxer pointed out it has always been legitimate to debate principle and to try to change the direction of the party. The issues raised by the Waffle are issues being discussed by the whole party. By denying the Waffle the right to organize as a caucus within the party the executive was taking organizational measures against political opposition.

The conference was a far cry from the carefully staged March 20 Provincial Council meeting where Lewis launched the attack against the Waffle. Its organizers did not intend to have the meeting take the position it did, giving prominence to the "affiliated status" proposal being pushed by some NDP leaders.

The meeting showed that the NDP ranks are not about to be steamrollered by the executive. They reject the witchhunt. They are concerned about the political issues raised by the Waffle and the big political questions faced by the party as a whole. This interest was reflected not just in the discussions at the meeting but also in the sales of over one hundred copies of Labor Challenge to the participants.

Every effort must now be made to deepen and mobilize the growing opposition to force the executive to call off the witchhunt at the upcoming June 24-5 Provincial Council meeting in Orillia.

photo by Jeff White

MASS MOVEMENTS CENTER ON NDP. Antiwar activists in NDP forced leadership to back mass protests against war. Here delegates to 1971 federal convention join demonstration sponsored by Ottawa Vietnam Mobilization Committee. Addressing rally is outgoing NDP leader T.C. Douglas.

photo by Jeff White

hen Lewis, newly-elected leader, addresses

'Affiliate status' for Waffle?

Right to caucus is at stake

labor Challenge #58

by JOHN STEELE

Over the past weeks a proposal calling for affiliated status for the Waffle has been circulating in the Ontario NDP. Some prominent New Democrats are backing it as a reasonable solution to the crisis. What is the meaning of this proposal? Is it the middle position its supporters say it is?

Those pushing affiliated status for the Waffle, claim it would give the Waffle freedom to operate as it saw fit outside the party, and representation at party conventions in the same way the affiliated trade unions are represented. In addition members of the affiliated Waffle organization could also individually become members of the party just as individual trade unionists take out party memberships in the ridings.

On the surface the proposal looks good. Waffle members can also be members of the NDP. The Waffle does not want to disband. The Executive does not want the Waffle in the party. Affiliated status — that is, delegated representation from a Waffle organization outside the party, should please everyone

But this is not what is happening. The Waffle has not accepted the affiliation proposal and correctly so. For affiliated status for the Waffle would destroy it as a political force within the party. Moreover, if the Waffle were forced to accept affiliated status, internal party democracy in the NDP would be a thing of the past.

It is true that the affiliated trade unions have a powerful weight within the NDP. How could it be otherwise?

The unions are mass organizations of workers. Their power and resources stem from their membership organized on the job. The resources of these mass organizations of the working class are the backbone of the New Democratic Party. That is why for years socialists have campaigned in the unions to affiliate them to the NDP.

But the Waffle is not a trade union. It is a caucus — that is a grouping of members of the NDP who have organized to change the party program and if necessary, the leadership.

The strength or potential strength of the Waffle stems from the appeal its program has to the membership of the party. In other words the Waffle is the expression — the logical expression of political debate within the NDP.

To-day, the Waffle, only threeyearsold, represents a large body of opinion in the NDP that agrees with the idea that there can be no independence for Canada from U.S. imperialism without fundamental social change. Many Waffle position have been adopted by the party. The Ontario NDP now calls for the nationalization of Ontario's energy resource industries, a Waffle position. Waffle leader James Laxer received one third of the votes, running second against David Lewis for party leader at the last Federal Convention!

The NDP executive is trying to muzzle political opposition by making caucuses illegal in the party. This is what is meant when it says the Waffle must disband or leave the party. Its May 6 report left no ambiguity, stating that the party would not tolerate within its ranks "a group organized on a continuing basis for the expressed purpose of securing fundamental changes in the structure, leadership and policies of the party."

The affiliation proposal accepts this idea. It says the Waffle should organize outside the party. But as the executive itself concedes, the Waffle's base is inside the party. Any policy banning the Waffle from continuing to organize for its views in the party would therefore kill it.

Affiliated status for the Waffle would institutionalize the witchhunt. The executive, intent on gagging political opposition, could then demand that all opposition groupings dissolve, get out and apply for affiliation, or face expulsion.

The question before the NDP is not organizational. Laxer has repeatedly expressed the Waffle's willingness to discuss any organizational problems there might be since the development of the Waffle. He has stated that in the future the Waffle will do its best to work within the constituted bodies of the party in an effort to avoid some of the problems that have arisen.

Thousands of NDP members across the province feel the Waffle position is reasonable. It was no accident that the June 4 NDP conference in Toronto failed to rally around the affiliation proposal. The assembly demanded an end to the witchhunt and placed the responsibility for the crisis on the executive of the party.

In the face of this overwhelming sentiment spreading throughout the party, the executive has no choice but to end its attack on democracy within the party by reaching an agreement with the Waffle based on the right of NDP members to caucus within the NDP.

Aid to Manitoba private schools

Schreyer forced back

by BEV BERNARDO

WINNIPEG — On June 9, Premier Ed Schreyer announced that Sid Green, the NDP MLA who resigned from the cabinet last March in opposition to Schreyer's attempt to increase government aid to private and parochial schools, would be returning to the cabinet shortly. But, rather than marking a victory for the premier, this latest development caps a series of forced retreats on the question over the past few weeks.

At the NDP provincial convention in November 1971, Schreyer brought in a resolution calling for a free vote in the legislature on the question. He knew that he could not win the party to support his position, and indeed the resolution calling for a free vote where MLA s would not be bound by party discipline to oppose aid to separate schools aroused considerable opposition. It only passed because Schreyer put his leadership of the party on the line over it.

During the time from the convention until the beginning of March the premier's position hardened as he tried to line up the party behind it. On March 3, Sid Green resigned from the cabinet in order to organize effective opposition to Schreyer's attempt to force the NDP MLAs to support his position.

Green's resignation was the first of a number of setbacks for the premier's position. Next, a poll taken by twenty NDP MLAs revealed that a majority of Manitobans oppose government aid to private schools. Then Vic Schroeder, the NDP candidate in the Wolesley byelection came out in opposition to Schreyer's position.

Because of the mobilization of opposition sentiment both in and outside the NDP, Schreyer had to back down from his intention to introduce a specific resolution calling for increased aid to private schools. Instead he called for the establishment of a committee to study the question. He was once again putting off a decision on the question.

On Friday, June 2, Schreyer again threatened to resign if more aid to private schools is not ultimately provided. While he didn't put a deadline on his resignation he said that he is not prepared to wait for years to see the matter settled.This threat of resignation, like the previous one, was an attempt to blackmail party MLAs into line. It failed.

Sid Green immediately made a statement in opposition to Schreyer's call for the establishment of a committee. He accused the premier of trying to buy time so that he could get his proposal adopted in the fall. He said he saw no way of rejoining the cabinet until the issue is settled.

Commenting on the premier's resignation threat, Green said, "If it comes to a choice between the school issue and the premier, the issue is more important than any individual."

Green went on to charge that the premier's resolution implies that the major educational problem is the question of how religious schools can be maintained. But, he said, "In my opinion, we should be looking for means of enhancing the public schools system in ways which do not involve encouraging division on the basis of race or religion."

By Monday, June 5, because of the public reaction to it, not to mention the uproar in the NDP caucus itself, Schreyer was forced to retract his resignation statement. He said that he was sorry that it had been interpreted as a coercive and intimidating statement.

This victory for the opponents of Schreyer's schools policy was followed by an announcement four days later that Green was returning to the cabinet.

It is clear that a massive opposition sentiment within the NDP and throughout Manitoba, forced Schreyer to retreat on his policy of aid to private and parochial schools. But it would be wrong to think that the question has been settled. No doubt Schreyer will try to raise the question again in the fall. Continued organized opposition is necessary to block further attempts by Schreyer to push the NDP government to adopt his position.

labor Challenge #58 Jun 1972

How can women gain political power?

Kay MacPherson

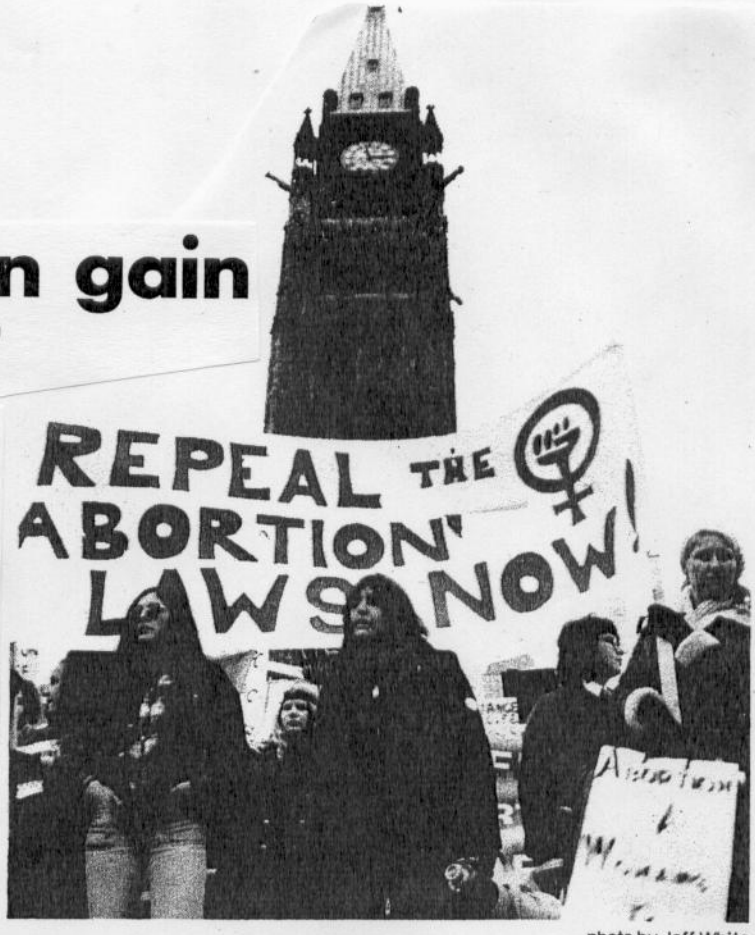

photo by Jeff White

POLITICAL ACTION. Mass demonstrations for repeal of anti-abortion laws challenge state control over women's bodies and lives.

Women demand equal increase

Two interesting aspects of Ontario's labor laws are highlighted by the current strike of 340 employees of Dare Foods Ltd., in Kitchener, members of Local 173 of the International Brewery Workers Union.

The first law, enacted by the Tory government under heavy pressure from militant feminists last year, supposedly protects women from discrimination in wage scales because of their sex.

At Dare, 90 percent of the workers are women, and they earn a lower rate than the men. On May 28, the union negotiating committee recommended acceptance of an offer to give men an extra 55 cents over two years; the women to get only 45 cents. The women voted to reject the offer and struck.

One male worker, explaining the rejection said: "The women wanted the same increase as the men, no matter what it is." As one woman on the picket line put it, "A lot of us work harder than the men in there."

The simple fact is that even if the workers had accepted the proposed contract, it would not have been challenged by the government, despite its discriminatory nature. The women's equal opportunity act is simply not enforced.

Other laws are enforced. Thus, when Canadian Drivers Pool (a company whose sole business is to break union picket lines with scabs, or move struck goods), was hired by Dare to move truckloads of cookies out of the plant, they received police protection to do the job.

Hundreds of windows were broken and 10 strikers arrested when a picket line of almost 1,000 strikers and sympathizers tried to block the removal of the goods. William Thom, executive vice-president of Dare stated "We intend to do what we have a legal right to do."

Obviously Mr. Thom is not referring to equal wages.

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Review

Marx and Engels on nationalism

IRELAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION. by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. Cloth-bound, 518 p.p. $2.50.

Is nationalism reactionary? Should socialists support the national liberation movements which have arisen from Quebec to Vietnam to the Ukraine, or should they condemn them as a diversion from the class struggle?

Some groups which claim to be Marxist have adopted a hostile attitude towards the nationalism of oppressed peoples. The Communist Party, for example, opposes independence for Quebec, insisting that "nationalism and unilingualism are the battle cries of the French Canadian petty bourgeoisie."

The Canadian Party of Labor, a small, formerly Maoist group, takes this view one step farther, declaring that all nationalist movements are reactionary, representing a "bourgeois ideology" which "divides the working class". CPL considers any support for nationalist movements to be treason to Marxism.

But what were the views of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels?

Marx and Engels, became familiar with the national aspirations of oppressed people through their close connections with the nationalist movement in nineteenth century Ireland. A recently published anthology, "Marx and Engels on Ireland and the Irish Question" makes available for the first time to English readers a nearly-complete collection of the articles, speeches and letters in which the first Marxist analysis of nationalism was developed. This collection proves conclusively that those who oppose the nationalism of the oppressed, or who limit the support they offer, have nothing in common with Marx and Engels.

Ireland was England's first colony, and the Irish have a centuries-long history of resistance to British domination. From the time 23-year-old Frederick Engels came to England in 1843, he was fascinated and inspired by the Irish national movement. "Give me two hundred thousand Irishmen," he wrote, "and I could overthrow the entire British monarchy."

But for many years Engels and Marx viewed the Irish struggle as secondary to the English working class movement. They held the view, not unlike that held by modern anti-nationalists, that only socialism could free Ireland, and therefore, the Irish must join in a socialist movement embracing all of "Great Britain."

It was the rise of Irish nationalism in the 1860s, led by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Fenians) that led Marx and Engels to reconsider their views. Engels' wife, Lizzy Burns, was an ardent Irish nationalist, and her family was probably involved in the Fenian organization. Engels made several trips to Ireland, and started work on a history of the country. Marx undertook a serious study of Irish economic conditions; and Marx's eldest daughter Jenny led a cam-

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paign against British mistreatment of Irish political prisoners.

These studies radically changed the views of the pioneer socialists. "Previously I thought Ireland's separation from England impossible," Marx wrote in November 1867. "Now I think it inevitable."

Marx pressed the Working Men's International Association (the "First International") to make Repeal of the Act of Union (that is, Irish independence) one of its main demands. "It is the task of the General Council (of the International) in London," he wrote in 1870, "to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that **for them the national emancipation of Ireland** is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but **the first condition of their own social emancipation.**" (Emphasis in original.)

Marx and Engels gave **unconditional support** to the Irish nationalists in their struggle against British imperialism. The fact that many Fenian leaders were not workers but small shopkeepers and professionals — "the leaders of this sect are mostly asses and partly exploiters," said Engels — did not prevent them from identifying with the Irish national movement. A nationalist movement inevitably includes various classes, but this does not cut across the dynamic of the struggle against imperialism.

Marx and Engels were not uncritical of the leadership and tactics of the Fenians, especially their advocacy of individual terrorism as a strategy. "We cannot in any way make ourselves responsible for the stupidities which occur in any conspiracy," Engels wrote. He described a Fenian bombing in London as a "stupid affair", ridiculing "the idea of liberating Ireland by setting a London tailor's shop on fire."

Some leaders of the English trade unions, notably one John Hales, rejected the Marxist position on Ireland. Hales' views, advanced at a meeting of the British Federal Council of the First International in 1872, sound remarkably like those of the Communist Party and the Canadian Party of Labor.

Hales argued that socialists should work "to destroy all semblance of the nationalist doctrine" and that the independent organization and agitation of the Irish "could only keep alive that national antagonism which had unfortunately so long existed between the people of the two countries." He proposed that the International reject the movement for Irish independence, and that the Irish members of the International join the British Federal Council in a common struggle for all workers.

Frederick Engels' reply to Hales reads like a devastating attack on our modern "internationalists" who oppose national struggles. "The Irish sections," he said, "were not only justified, but even under the necessity to state in the preamble to their rules that their first and most pressing duty, as Irishmen, was to establish their own independence.

"If the motion was adopted by the Council, the Council would inform the Irish working men, in so many words, that after the dominion of the English aristocracy over Ireland, after the dominion of the English middle class over Ireland, they must now look forth to the advent of the dominion of the English working class over Ireland." So long as English oppression of Ireland continued, Engels declared, "it was an insult to Irish working men to ask them to submit to a British Federal Council."

Engels dismissed the "internationalism" argument totally: "If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'sink national differences' and so forth, that was not Internationalism, it was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and to perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism."

In their works on Ireland Marx and Engels laid the foundations for a socialist policy towards the nationalism of oppressed peoples. In the twentieth century, capitalism expanded and brought under its oppressive domination many more national communities. The great marxist theoreticians of the age of imperialism, Lenin and Trotsky, extended and developed the views of the socialist pioneers, taking as their watchword the conclusion Marx reached in 1870: "The nation that oppresses another forges its own chains."

IAN ANGUS

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Worldwide campaign frees Angela Davis

Angela Davis is free. Her acquittal June 4 on frame-up charges of murder, kidnapping and criminal conspiracy marks an historic victory against racist oppression, sexist discrimination, and police and legal harassment suffered by the oppressed in the United States — Blacks, women, prisoners and radicals. The support of millions of people around the world blocked the government frame-up attempts and won freedom for Angela Davis.

Capitalist politicians, newspapers and judges are now hailing the decision as proof of the justice of the American legal system. Their claims are brazen hypocrisy.

Nearly two years ago, following the Marin county, shoot-out, Davis was put on the FBI's list of 10 most wanted criminals and hunted down like an animal. She was jailed and kept in maximum security without bail until mass protests forced her release on the outrageous bond of $102,500. There were no blacks on her jury. As Davis herself answered the hypocrites " ... a fair trial would have been no trial at all."

The massive global campaign to expose the Davis frame-up (there were Angela Davis defense committees in over 40 countries and 90 chapters in the United States) pointed the way to the successful defense of other political prisoners in the U.S. Davis' attorney Howard Moore emphasized that it was necessary to "take the movement (for Angela Davis) and broaden its base and give it a precise course of direction so that it can free other political prisoners such as Ruche Magee ... There is no doubt in m mind that Ruchell is innocent."

ANGELA DAVIS. "A fair tri would be no trial at all."

If the U.S. capitalist governme had succeeded in their frame-up Angela Davis they would have dea a terrible blow to all movements f social change, strengthening t hand of reaction.

Their defeat is a victory th belongs to all the oppressed, abo all, the uncounted political prisone who yet remain behind bars in t United States.

Campaign for new readers

by ANNE MACDONALD
Subscription drive coordinator

Labor Challenge has launched a summer subscription drive for 1000 new readers. The drive runs from June 1 to July 1.

We feel that our goal is quite realistic with the improvements in the paper — expansion to 12 pages and the use of color.

Already groups of Labor Challenge supporters have accepted quotas, and are working out ways to get subs in their areas. Peterborough supporters have already raised their goal from 25 to 35. Subs are being sold to NDPers, to activists in the women's liberation movement, at antiwar actions, etc., as well as door-to-door in working class neighborhoods.

The drive for new subscribers and renewals is being combined with a campaign to sell single copies of Labor Challenge on a much larger scale. We want to see salespeople at every political meeting, and on the streets of every city this summer. A number of areas have already asked us to increase the size of their bundles. Vancouver supporters raised their bundle by 100 percent — from 100 to 200. Winnipeg and Toronto have also raised their bundles.

If you would like to sell Labor Challenge subscriptions or single copies, write us. We'll be glad to send you a regular bundle, subscription blanks, and more information on how to sell the paper.

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